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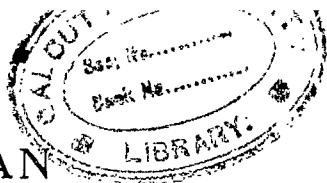
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## THE RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI AS RECORDED ON THE MONUMENTUM ANTIOCHENUM.<sup>1</sup>

In 1914 in excavations at Colonia Caesarea or Pisidian Antioch Sir William Ramsay found some sixty<sup>2</sup> fragments of a Latin copy of the most important inscription of the Latin Empire, that "Queen of Inscriptions" as it is called by Mommsen, the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. This was one of three documents placed by Augustus along with his will in a safety-deposit box in the care of the Vestal Virgins (Suet. Aug. 101). It was written by Augustus himself before 2 B. C. and probably revised from time to time between 2 B. C. and 14 A. D. The document was read in the Senate and engraved on bronze pillars in front of the Mausoleum which Augustus had built some forty-two years before his death. The Mausoleum, used for symphony concerts to-day, still stands on the Ripetta in the Campus Martius but the inscription has perished. A copy in Greek and Latin is preserved on the Augusteum at Ancyra (the modern Angora). There was

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for helpful suggestions to Enoch E. Peterson, research fellow of the University of Michigan, who was present at the excavations from beginning to end; to Sir William Ramsay, who by agreement turned over to the University of Michigan all rights of publication and promised to place at our disposal all the material of every kind in his possession that might be useful; to Francis W. Kelsey, director of Near East Research for the University of Michigan, who provided for the expenses of the excavations; and to Professor A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan. This manuscript was submitted in September 1925 but space was not available till the March number of the Journal. The paper was presented to the Johns Hopkins Philological Association on Nov. 19, 1925 and to the American Philological Association on Dec. 30, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> In J. R. S. VI, 1916, p. 110 it is said that more than sixty were found; in J. R. S. XIV, 1924, p. 176 the number is 49.

another bilingual version at Pergamum and a Greek text at Apollonia, of which only a few fragments are extant, these two also inscribed on temples of Augustus. Many of Ramsay's fragments of the Latin copy at Antioch, the first ones so far found not engraved on a temple (the number of which Hardy in his new edition of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, page eight, gives as only thirty-five) contained only one letter. Sir William published forty-nine of the fragments with drawings but no measurements or photographs in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, VI, 1916, pp. 108-129 (cited as Ramsay).<sup>3</sup> The excavations conducted by the University of Michigan Expedition in the summer of 1924 at the invitation, and with the coöperation, of Sir William Ramsay (cf. *Am. J. Arch.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 435-444) discovered about two hundred and fifteen additional fragments, on compact whitish limestone. Ramsay thought that he had previously found nothing of the preface or of the first seven chapters, but we now have fragments of the preface and every chapter as well as of the four appendices, with the same divisions as in the *Mon. Anc.* They are all in Latin, showing that a Greek version was not inscribed, as in the *Mon. Anc.*, at Colonia Caesarea, which was intended, despite the Greek-speaking *incolae*, to be a purely Roman city. Ehrenberg (*Klio* XIX, p. 200) had wrongly thought a Greek translation necessary for Antioch.

It has been a difficult and time-consuming task to identify the fragments in this jig-saw puzzle, and a few unimportant pieces are still unplaced or still uncertain (pl. VIIa). The marks of chisel and hammer used perhaps by early iconoclasts, still to be seen on many of the fragments, strengthen the hypothesis that the *Mon. Ant.* was purposely destroyed long before the damage done by the earthquakes mentioned in Byzantine writers. One of these thrust the temple and Propylaea and triple gateway to the west. The destruction of the *Mon. Ant.* took place long before the final devastation by the Arabs in 713 A. D.<sup>4</sup> This

<sup>3</sup> It is to be regretted that the other eleven fragments, however unimportant they seemed then to be, were not published, as they are no longer to be found. Nor has any publication appeared of the thirty-three pieces of sculpture discovered by Ramsay at Antioch in 1913 and 1914, many of which it will be difficult now to locate.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Theophanes, de Boor ed., I, p. 383.

would account for the smallness of most of the fragments and for the fact that so much had been entirely removed or destroyed. Most of the fragments were found on the Tiberia Platea below the staircase, so widely scattered and in such separate pieces that no detailed conclusions can be drawn from the place of finding, though it was recorded in every case, and every fragment given a number from 41 to 255 inclusive.<sup>5</sup> Many fragments were found in the dump of Ramsay's previous excavation and more than fifty were purchased from natives who had found them either in illegitimate digging or in the dumps. Baksheesh was freely distributed to boys who brought us fragments from the débris or elsewhere. This increased very materially the number of fragments but in one or two cases it led to stealing of pieces which were broken and again offered to us separately. However, more fragments were secured by this method than would otherwise have been possible. Few have escaped our notice, and I feel confident that nearly all have been found that can now be recovered, since the excavations covered the entire area where such fragments might be. Drawings and measurements and two squeezes and photographs were made of every fragment, and the stones themselves were cleaned and carefully studied. The coloring and weathering, the varying style of letters which shows that several stone-cutters carved the inscription, the spacing, and other indications, as well as the broken edges and the letters themselves have been a guide in joining together the scattered fragments, no two of which were united when found. Squeezes, drawings and photographs were also made of as many of the previous fragments as could be rediscovered. These had been transported far away to Konia, where in the museum with the help of Mr. William H. Buckler 42 out of the 49 published by Ramsay were located. It is more scientific to give photographs, where possible, than drawings which are subject to error. So on the plates herewith published are shown the joins which I have been able to make and a photographic reproduction of every fragment which is still preserved. Much commentary which is rendered unnecessary by an examination of the plates has been

<sup>5</sup> We started with 41, allowing forty numbers to those previously found and now at Konia. All those found or purchased by us were deposited at Yalivadj in the Lycée.

omitted. The text is numbered by columns but in the commentary the chapters are cited by the number of lines in the chapters.

I spent some time at Angora studying and taking squeezes of parts of the *Mon. Anc.*<sup>6</sup> In this preliminary article I have limited myself to fitting the new fragments into the text. I have not considered the question so long debated as to the purpose or literary tabulation of this laconic statistical account of Augustus' honors, donations, and deeds in peace and war. I am inclined to believe that it was not intended simply as a political testament,<sup>7</sup> or a statement of credit or debit, an *apologia pro vita sua*,<sup>8</sup> or an epitaph or an *eulogium sepulcrare*,<sup>9</sup> or as a justification for apotheosis.<sup>10</sup> Because of the suppression of some facts and the omission of the names of Augustus' public enemies and of those of his family who were not connected with him in affairs of state and owing to his concentration on his relations with the senate and the people, I agree with Mommsen that it does not belong to any particular literary classification. It is a unique diplomatic document of dignified but cool-headed political propaganda,<sup>11</sup> designed by an experienced world-ruler to give to the Roman people an account of his stewardship and public career. It probably was also meant to prepare for Tiberius' succession, as Westermann believes,<sup>12</sup> a special kind of "Grabschrift."<sup>13</sup>

The editions and monographs and articles which have been

<sup>6</sup> There is a complete set of squeezes at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

<sup>7</sup> Hirschfeld, *Wiener Studien* III, 1881, p. 264.

<sup>8</sup> Wölfflin, *Sitzungsberichte der Akad. der Wiss. zu München*, 1886, p. 280.

<sup>9</sup> Bormann, *Verhandlungen der dreihundvierzigsten Versamml. deutsch. Philologen in Köln*, 1895, pp. 184 ff.; Schmidt, *Philologus* XLIV, 1885, pp. 442-70; XLV, 1886, pp. 393-410; XLVI, 1887, pp. 70-86; Nissen in *Rh. Mus.* XLI, 1886, pp. 481-499. Cf. also in general Gardthausen's *Augustus I*, pp. 1279-95; II, pp. 874-880; Shipley, *Res Gestae*, pp. 332 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Wilamowitz, *Hermes* LXXI, 1886, pp. 623-7.

<sup>11</sup> Ehrenberg, *Klio*, XIX, p. 200 says: "Der wesentliche Zweck der Aufstellung der *Res Gestae* war Propaganda." Otherwise Kahrstedt, *Hist. Ztschr.* CXXVIII, 1923, p. 471.

<sup>12</sup> *American Historical Review*, XVII, 1911, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Dessau, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, p. 479.

used are the following: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, III, 2, pp. 769 ff. (C. I. L.), Berlin, 1873; Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti ex Monumentis Ancyranis et Apolloniensi*, with eleven plates, Berlin, 1883 (cited as Mommsen); Fairley, *Monumentum Ancyranum*, with Latin text, translation and commentary, in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. V, no. 1, 1898 (unknown after twenty-five years to Hardy), an excellent critical edition now out of print (cited as Fairley); Shuckburgh, *Augustus*, 1903, pp. 293-301 (translation); Cagnat et Lafaye, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes* III, 1, 1906, pp. 65 ff. (cited as Cagnat); Kornemann, *Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus*, Leipzig, 1921 (cited as Kornemann); Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy*, 1919, pp. 258-276, an excellent critical edition of the Latin text, probably the best though not mentioned by Hardy or Shipley or Knapp in the *Classical Weekly* XVIII, p. 170, where Cagnat is also lacking (cited as Sandys); Diehl, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Das Monumentum Ancyranum*<sup>3</sup>, Bonn, 1918 (cited as Diehl); Hardy, *The Monumentum Ancyranum*, Oxford, 1923, an edition of little use to scholars because it reproduces Mommsen's text without editorial signs to indicate lacunae, restorations and the like, and because it gives the Latin and Greek texts sentence by sentence followed by an English translation and commentary, thus breaking the sequence which Augustus intended (cited as Hardy); Shipley, *Velleius Paterculus and Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Loeb Classical Library), 1924 (cited as Shipley). Some articles cited besides that of Ramsay in *J. R. S.* VI, 1916, pp. 108-129 are Haug, *Bursian's Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der kl. Altertumswissenschaft*, LVI, 1888, pp. 87 ff. (Haug); Wölfflin, *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1886, pp. 253 ff.; 1896, pp. 160 ff. (Wölfflin); Wirtz, *Ergänzungs- und Verbesserungsvorschläge zum Monumentum Ancyranum*, Königliches Kaiser-Wilhelms Gymnasium mit Real-Gymnasium zu Trier, 1912 (Wirtz); Hoeing, *Classical Philology* III, 1908, pp. 87-90 (a good article not cited in the bibliographies); Von Premerstein, *Hermes* LIX, 1924, pp. 95-107 (Von Premerstein); Ehrenberg, *Klio* XIX, 1925, pp. 189-213 (Ehrenberg). For

other articles cf. Cagrat, p. 65; Besnier in *Mélanges Cagnat*, 1912, pp. 119-151; Shipley, pp. 341-43; Regard, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* XXVI, 1924, pp. 147-161; and Dessau, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, pp. 478-484.

Words or letters enclosed in square brackets are restorations in the *Mon. Anc.* by Mommsen or other scholars. The completion of abbreviations is indicated by curved parentheses.<sup>14</sup> Heavy black-face type is used for what is preserved in the *Mon. Ant.* so that at a glance it can be seen where the text is preserved at Antioch and not at Angora. In some cases restorations have been adopted which seem to be better than those of Mommsen. Where a letter is broken, but absolutely certain, it is given in black. Where it is badly broken or uncertain a dot is placed underneath. Accents are given where they are preserved in either monument. An examination of the plates will show where they are preserved in the *Mon. Ant.* There is much irregularity but cases of agreement with the *Mon. Anc.* are not very rare. Where on the stone the long vowels are indicated either by an apex or by elongation of i, an apex or accent is used, though the two Latin copies are not always consistent. The sign § is used to represent the symbol which on the stone sometimes resembles a 7 on its side, sometimes an open 3. It is not so rare as Ramsay, p. 112, imagined. In the original the first letter of a chapter projects beyond the margin of the succeeding lines, but the modern practice of indentation is followed in the transcription. The original right and left edges of the columns where preserved, can be seen by looking at the plates, which also show the beginning and ending of the nine columns or *paginae*.

<sup>14</sup> Omissions of letters on the stone or mistakes in spelling are also sometimes likewise indicated.

## THE TEXT.

## Rerum gestarum

divi Augusti, quibus orbem terra[rum] imperio populi Rom(ani)  
 subiécit, § et  
 inpensarum, quas in rem publicam populumque Ro[má]num  
 fecit, incisarum  
 in duabus aheneis pílis, quae su[n]t positae Romae exemplar  
 sub[i]ectum.

- I. 1. Annós undéviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et pri-  
 vatá impensá comparávi, § per quem rem publicam á [do]mi-  
 natione factionis oppressam in libertátem vindicá[vi].

- Qua ratione sen]atus decretis honor[ifi]cís in ordinem  
 5 suum m[e adlegit C. Pansa A.<sup>1</sup> Hirti]o consulibu[s c]on[sulá]rem  
 locum s[imul dans sententiae ferendae, et im]perium mi-  
 hi dedit. [§] Rés publica n[e quid detrimenti caperet, mé] pro  
 praetore simul cum consulibus pro[videre iussit. Populus  
 autem eódem anno mé consulē, cum [consul uterque in bel-  
 10 lo ceci]disset, et trium virum rei publicae constituen-  
 d[ae creavit. §

2. Quí parentem meum [interfecer]un[t, eó]s in exilium  
 expulsi  
 iudiciis legitimis ultus eórum [fa]cin[us, e]t postea bellum  
 inferentis rei publicae víci b[is] a]cie.

- 15 3. B]ella terra et mari c[ivilia exter]naque tóto in orbe terra-  
 rum s[aepe gessi] victorque omnibus [veniam petentib]us cívi-  
 bus peperci. § Exter[na]s gentés, quibus tóto [ignosci pot]ui[t,  
 co]nservare quam excidere m[alui. §] Millia civium Róma[norum  
 adacta] sacramento meo fuerunt circiter [quingen]ta. § Ex quibus  
 20 dedú[xi in coloni]ás aut remisi in municipia sua stipen[dis  
 emer]itis millia aliquant[o plura qu]am trecenta et iis omnibus  
 agrós a[dsignavi] aut pecuniam pro p[raemiis mil]itiae dedi. §  
 Naves cépi

<sup>1</sup> Hardy p. 27 wrongly prints L.

sescen[tas praeter] eás, si quae minóre[s quam trir]emes fuerunt. §

II. 4. Bis]ováns triumphá[vi], et trís egi c[urulís triumphós et appel-

lá[tus sum viciens et se]mel imperátor. [Cum autem plú]-ris triumphos mihi se[natus decrevisset, iis su]persedi. §

5 L[aurum a fascib]us deposuí, § in Capi[tolio votis, quae] quó-que bello nuncu[paveram, solu]tís. § Ob res á [me aut per legatos meós auspiciis meis terrá m[arique] pr[o]spere gestás qu[inquagiens et quin]quiens decrevit senátus supp[lica]ndum esse díis immo[rtalibus]. § Díes autem, pe[r] quós ex senátús cónsul-to [s]upplicátum est, fuere DC[CCLXXXX. In triumphis meis] ducti

10 sunt ante currum m[e]um regés aut r[eg]um lib[eri novem. Con-sul fuer]am terdeciens, c[u]m [scribeb]a[m] haec, [et eram se]p[ti]-mum et trigensimum tribú[niciae potestatis.

5. Dictatura]m et apsent[i et praesenti mihi delatam a populo et á senatu,

M. Marce]llo e[t] L. Ar[runtio consulibus, non recepi. Non deprecatus

15 sum in summa frumenti p[er]enuri[á cúratió]ne]m an[nonae, qu]am ita

ad[ministravi, ut intra perpaucós die]s metu et per[i]c[ulo praesenti populu]m univ[ersum de meis sumptibus libera-rem]. § Con[sulatum mihi t]um annuum e[t quoque in perpetu-um delatum non recepi].

20 6. Consulibus M. Vinicio et Q. Lucretio et postea P.] et Cn. L[entulis et

tertium Paullo Fabio Maximo et Q. Tuberone, senatu populo]u[e Ro-

mano consentientibus ut curator legum morumque maxima cum po-]

testate solus crearer, magistratum nullum contra exempla ma-]iorum delatum recepi. Quae autem tunc per me senatus admini-]



III. strari voluit, perfecti, tribunicia potestate, ac eiusdem po-]  
testatis conlegam a sen. Rom. et pop. Rom. quinquiens ego ip-]  
se poposci et accepi].

7. Trium virum rei publicae constituendae fui per decem  
annos con-]

5 tinuos. Princeps senatus usque ad eum diem fui, quo scrips[eram  
haec, per quadraginta annos. Pontifex max., augur, quindecimvi-]  
ru]m sacris [faciundis, VIIvirum epulorum, frater arvâlis  
sodalis Titi-  
us, fetiali]s fui.

8. Patriciorum numerum auxi, consul quintum, iussu populi  
et senatus. §

10 Senatum ter legi. Et in consulatu sexto censum populi, conlega M.  
Agrippa, egi. § Lustrum post annum quadragensimum et alterum  
fec[i. §

Quo lustro civium Romanorum censa sunt capita quadragiens  
centum

millia et sexag[i]nta tria millia. § [Iteru]m consulari cum imperio  
lustrum [s]olus feci, C. Censoriu[o et C.] Asinio cos. § Quo lustro  
censa sunt

15 civium Romanoru[m] capita] quadragiens centum millia et  
ducenta tri-  
ginta tria m[illia. Tertiu]m consulari cum imperio lustrum, con-  
lega Tib.

Cae[sare filio meo, feci], § Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos.  
Quo lustro

cen[sa sunt civium Ro]manorum capitum quadragiens centum

mill[ia et nongenta tr]iginta et septem millia. § Legibus novi[s

20 multis latis multa e]xemplâ maiorum exolescentia iam ex nost-  
[ro usu ego revocavi, et edidi] multarum rer[um exe]mpla

imitan-  
da pos[teris].

9. Vota pro salute mea suscep[i] per cons]ules et sacerdotes  
qu[in-

to] qu[oque anno senatus decrevit. Ex iis] votis s[ae]pe fecerunt

- 25 **vívo** me [ludos aliquotiens **sacerdotu**]m quattuor amplissima  
**conlé**[gia, aliquotiens consules. **Privat**]im etiam et **múnicipa-**  
**tim** **úniver**[si cives unanimiter continente]r apud omnia **pul-**  
**vinária** pro vale[tudine mea sacrificaverunt.

10. **Nómen** meum senatus **consulto** inc]lusum est in **saliáre**  
 carmen et sacro-

- 30 **san**[ctus ut essem **perpetuo** et **q**]uoa[d] **víverem**, **tribúnicia**  
 potestás  
**mihi** [esset, per legem **sanctum** est. **Pontif**]ex maximus ne fierem  
 in **vívi** [e]onle[gae locum, populo id sace]rdotium deferente mihi,  
**quod** pater (meu[s] habuerat, recusavi. Quod sacerdotium aliquod  
 post annós, eó mor[tuo, recepi, qui id tumultus o]ccasione occupa-  
 verat §,

IV. **euneta** ex Italia [ad mea comitia **confluente** mu]ltitudine, quan-  
 ta(m) Romae nun[q]uam [antea fuisse **mentionem** **fecerunt**],

P. Sulpicio C.

Valgio consulibu[s] §.

11. **Aram** Fortunae **Redaëis** ante ae]dés Honoris et Virtutis  
 ad portam

- 5 **Capenam** pro reditu meo se]nátus consecravít, in qua ponti]fices et  
**virgines** Vestales anni]versárium sacrificium facere [iussit eo  
**die**, quo consulibus Q. Luc]retio et [M. Vinici]o in urbem ex  
 [Syria redi-  
 eram, et diem Augustali]a ex [e]o[gnomine nost]ro appellavit.

12. S(enatus) c(onsulto) eodem tempor]e pars [praetorum et  
 tri]bunorum [plebi cum consule Q. Lu-

- 10 **cret]io** et **princi**[pi]bus [vir]is ob]viam mihi mis[s]a e[st in  
 Campan]ia[m, qui  
**honos** [ad hoc tempus] **nemiri** praeter [m]e es[t decretus. Cu]m  
 ex H[ispá]niá Gal-  
 liaque, rebus in íis p]rovinciis prosp[e]re [gest]i[s], R[omam  
 redi], Ti. Ne[r]one et  
 P. Qui[n]tilio co[s], áram [Pacis A]u[g]ust[ae senatus pro]  
 redi[t]ú meó co[nsacrandam]

censuit] ad eam[pum Martium, in qua ma]gistratús et sac[er-  
dotes et virgines

15 V[est]á[les anniversarium sacrific]ium facer[e iussit.

13. Janum] Quirin[um, quem el]aussum ess[e maiores nostri  
voluer]unt, [cum  
p]er totum i[mperium po]puli Roma[ni terra marique es]set  
parta vic[torí]s  
pax, cum, pr[íus quam] náscerer, [a condita] u[rb]e bis omnino  
clausum  
f]uisse prodátur m[emori]ae, ter me princi[pe senat]us clauden-  
dum esse censui[t].

20 14. Filios meos, quós iuv[enes mi]hi eripuit for[tuna],  
Gaíum et Lucium  
Caesares, honoris mei caussá, senatus populusque Romanus annum  
quíntum et decimum agentís consulés designávit, ut [e]u[m  
magistrá-  
tum infrent post quinquenni]um. Et ex eó die, quó deducti  
[s]unt in  
forum, ut interessent consiliís publicís decrevit sena[t]us. §  
Equites

25 [a]utem Románi universi principem iuventútis utrumque eórum  
parm[is] et hastís argenteís donátum appelláverunt. §

15. Plebei Románae viritim sestertium treceños numeravi ex  
testámento  
patris meí, § et nomine meo sæstertium quadringenos ex bellórum  
manibís  
cos. quantum dedí, iterum autem in consulátu decimo ex  
[p]atrimonio

30 meo sestertium quadringenos congiári viritim p[er]numer[a]vi, §  
et consul  
undecimum duodecim frúmentátiónes frúmento pr[i]vatim  
coémp[er]to  
emensus sum, § et tribuniciá potestáte duodecim quadringenós  
nummós tertium viritim dedí. Quae mea congiaria p[e]rvener-  
unt ad [homi]-

V. num mília nunquam minus quinquáginta et ducenta. §

- T]ribu[nic]iae potestátis duodevicensimum consul xii trecentís  
et vigintí mil-  
libus plebís urbánae sexagenós denariós viritim dedi, § et  
colon[i]s  
militum meórum consul quirtum ex manibís viritim míllia  
5 nummum singula dedi; § acceperunt id triumphale congiárium  
in co-  
lo[n]ís hominum circiter certum et viginti míllia. § Consul  
tertium dec[i]mum sexagenós denariós plebeí, quae tum  
frúmentum  
publicum accipieba[t], dedi; ea míllia hominum paullo plúra  
quam  
ducenta fuerunt. §
- 10 16. Pecúniám [pro] agrís, quós in consulátu meó quáрто et  
postea consu-  
libus M. Cr[asso e]t Cn. Lentulo augure adsignávi militibus,  
solví  
múnicipís. Ea [s]u[mma sest]ertium circiter sexsians milliens  
fuit,  
quam [p]ró Italicís praed[is] numeravi, § et ci[r]citer bis  
mill[ie]ns et  
sescentiens, quod pro agrís p[ro]vin[c]iálibus solví. § Id primus et  
15 s[ol]us omnium, qui [d]edúxerunt coloniás militum in Italiá aut in  
provinciis, ad memor[i]a(m) aetátis meae feci. Et postea Ti.  
Nerone et Cn.  
Pisone consulibus, § item[q]ue C. Antistio et D. Laelio  
consulibus, et  
C. Calvisio et L. Pasiéno consulibus, et L. Le[ntulo et] M. Messalla  
consulibus, § et L. Cáninio § et Q. Fabricio co[s.] milit[ibus],  
quós emeriteis  
20 stipendís in sua municipi[a dedux]i, praem[ia n]umeráto  
persolví, § quam  
in rem seste[r]tium q[uater m]illien[s ci]r[cite]r impendi.
17. Quater [pe]cuniá meá iuví aerárium, ita ut sestertium  
míllien[s] et  
quing[en]t[ie]s ad eós qui praerant aerário detulerim. Et M.  
Lep[i]do et

L. Ar[r]unt[i]o consulibus i[ra] aerarium militare, quod ex consilio

- 25 m[eo] co[nstitut]um est, ex [q]uo praemia darentur militibus, qui vicena aut plu[ra] sti[pendi]a emeruissent, sestertium milliens et septing[e]nti[ens] ex pa[t]rim[onio] [m]eo detuli. §

18. Inde ab eo anno, q[uo] C. et P. Lentuli c[ons]ules fuerunt, cum d[e]ficerent pu[blicae] o[pe]s, tum centum millibus h[omi]num tu[m pl]uribus mul[ti]to, fru[men-]

- 30 tarios et n[umma]rio[s] t[ributus] ex agro] et pat[rimonio] m[eo] [dedi].

VI. 19. Cúriam et continens eí Chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in Pal-

atio cum porticibus, aedem d[omi]ni Iulí, Lupercal, porticum ad circum

Fláminium, quam sum appellári passus ex nómine eius quí priórem

- 5 eódem in solo fecerat Octaviam, pulvinar ad circum maximum, aedés in Capitólio Iovis Feretrí et Iovis Tonantis, § aedem Quiríní, § aedés

Minervae (§) et Iunónis Reginae (§) et Iovis Libertatis in Aventíno, § aedem

Larum in summá sacrá viá, (§) aedem deum Penátium in Velia, § aedem Iuv-

entátis, (§) aedem Mátris Magnae in Palátio fecí. §

20. Capitoliúm et Pompeiúm theatrum utrumque opus impensá grandí

- 10 refécí sine ullá inscriptione n[omi]nis meí. § Rívos aquarum complúribus locis vetustáte labentés refécí, § et aquam quae appellátur

Márcia duplicavi fonte novo in rivum eius inmisso. § Forum Iúlium et basilicam, quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, coep-

ta profligataque opera á patre meó perfécí § et eandem basilicam con-

- 15 sumptam incendio ampliáto eius solo sub titulo nominis filiórum  
m[eorum i]nchoavi [§] et, si vivus nón perfecissem, perfici ab  
heredib[us  
meis iussi]. § Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sex-  
t[um ex auctoritáte] senátus refeci, nullo praetermisso quod e[o]  
temp[ore  
refici debebat]. § Con[s]ul septimum viam Flaminiam a[b urbe]  
Ari[mi-  
20 num refeci pontesque] omnes praeter Mulvium et Minucium.  
21. In privato solo Mártis Ultoris templum [f]orumque  
Augustum [ex  
mani]biis feci. § Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis in solo magná  
ex parte  
á p[r]i[v]atis empto feci, quod sub nómine M. Marcell[i] generi  
mei esset. §  
Don[a e]x manibiis in Capitolio et in aede divi Iú[l]í et in aede  
Apollinis  
25 et in aede Vestae et in templo Martis Ultoris consacravi, quae  
mihi con-  
stituerunt sestertium circiter milliens. § Aurí coronári pondo tri-  
ginta et quinque mília múnicipiis et colonis Italiae conferentibus  
ad triumphó[s] meos quintum consul remisi, et postea,  
quotie(n)scumque  
imperátor a[ppe]llátus sum, aurum coronárium nón accepi,  
decernenti-  
30 bus municipii[s] et coloni[s] aequ[e] beni[g]ne adque antea  
decreverant. §  
22. T[e]r munus gladiátorium dedí meo nomine et quin-  
quens<sup>15</sup> filiórum me[o]-  
rum aut n[e]pótum nomine; quibus muneribus depugnaverunt  
hominu[m]  
ci[re]iter decem millia. § Bis [at]hletarum undique accitorum  
spec[ta]c[ulu(m)]<sup>16</sup>  
po[pulo] pra[ebui] meo] nómine et tertium nepo[tis] meí nomine.  
§ L[u]dos

<sup>15</sup> The *Mon. Anc.* has quinquens.

<sup>16</sup> The *Mon. Anc.* has spec[ta]c[ulum].

- 35 feci m[eo no]m[in]e quater, aliorum autem m[agist]rátu[um]  
vicem ter et ví-  
cie[ns]. § [Pr]o conlegio xv virórum magis[ter conl]e[gi]í  
colleg[a] M.  
Agrippa § lud[os s]aekl[are]s C. Furnio C. [S]ilano cos. [feeci.  
C]on[sul xiii] ludos

- VII. Mar[tia]les pr[imus feci], qu[os] p[ost i]d tempus deincep[s]  
ins[equen]ti[bus]  
ann[is] [ex s(enatus) c(onsultu)] mecum fecerunt co[n]su[les]. §  
[Ven]ati[o]n[es] best[ia]rum Afri-  
canárum meo nómine aut filio [ru]m meórum et nepotum in  
ci[r]co aut  
i[n] foro aut in amphitheatris popul[o d]edi sexiens et viciens,  
quibus con-  
5fecta sunt bestiarum circiter tr[ia] m[ill]ia et quingentae.

23. Navalis proelí spectaclum populo de[di tr]ans Tiberim, in  
quo loco nunc  
nemus est Caesarum, cavato [solo] in longitud(inem) mille et  
octingentós pedes, §  
in lát(itudine[m] mille] e[t] ducenti. In quo triginta rostratae  
náves trirémes a[ut birem]és, §  
plures autem minóres inter se conflixérunt. Q[ui]bus in] classi-  
10bus pugnauerunt praeter rémigés millia ho[m]inum tr[ia]  
circiter. §

24. In templis omniúm civitátium pr[ovinci]ae Asiae victor  
ornamen-  
ta reposui, quae spoliátis tem[plis] cum quó bellum gesseram  
privátim  
possederat. § Statuae [mea]e pedestrés et equestres et in  
quadrigeis argen-  
teae steterunt in urbe xxc ci[rciter], quas ipse sustuli § exque  
eá pecuniá  
15dona aurea in áede Apol[li]nis meó nomine et illórum, qui mihi  
statuá-  
rum honórem habuerunt, posui. §

25. Mare pacávi á praëlonibus. Eó bello servórum, qui  
fugerant á domin-  
is suis et arma contrá rem publicam céperant, triginta fere millia  
capta § dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidi. § Iuravit in  
mea verba
- 20 tóta Italia sponte suá et me be[l]li, quó víci ad Actium, ducem  
deposcit.  
§ Iuraverunt in (ea)dem ver[ba próvi]nciae Galliae Hispaniae  
Africa  
Sicilia Sardinia. § Qui sub [signis meis tum] militaverint,  
fuerunt se-  
nátóres plúres quam DCC. in í[s consulares et qui pos]teá  
consules fac-  
tí sunt ad eum diem quó scripta su[nt haec, LXXXIII,  
sacerdó]tés ci[re]i-
- 25 ter CLXX. §
26. Omnium prów[inci]arum populi Romani], quibus finitimae  
fuerunt gentés  
quae n[ón] parerent imperio nos]tro, fines auxi. Gallias et  
Hispaniás pró-  
vinciá[s et Germaniam qua inclu]dit Oceanus a Gádibus ad  
óstium Albis  
flúm[inis] pacavi. Alpes a r[eg]ióne eá, quae proxima est Hadriá-  
30 nó mari, [ad Tuscum pacificav]i nulli gentí bello per iniú-  
riam inlato. § Cla[ssis] mea per Oceanum] ab óstio Rhéni ad só-  
lis orientis regionem usque ad fl[um]ines Cimbroru]m navigavit, § quó  
neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adít,  
§ Cimbri-  
que et Charydes et Semrones et eiusdem tractús alií Germánórum  
35 popu[l]i per legátós amicitiam meam et populi Románi  
petierunt. §  
Meo iussú et auspicio ducti sunt [duo] exercitús eódem fere  
tempore in Aethiopiam et in Ar[a]biam, quae appel[latur]  
eudaemón,  
[maxim]aeque hos[t]ium gentís utr[iu]sq[ue] cop[iae] caesae sunt  
in acie et [c]om[plur]a oppida capta.



VIII. In Aethiopiam usque ad oppidum Nabata pervent[um] est, cui proxima

est Meroé. In Arabiam usque in finés Sabaeorum pro[cess]it exerc[it]us ad oppidum Mariba. §

27. Aegyptum imperio populi [Ro]mani adieci. § Armeniam maiórem in-

5 terfecto rege eius Artaxe § e[um] possem facere provinciam, málui ma-

iórum nostrórum exemplo regn[u]m id Tigrani, regis Artavasdis filio,

nepoti autem Tigránis regis, per T[i. Ne]ronem trad[er]e, qui tum mihi

priv[ig]nus erat. Et eandem gentem postea d[esc]iscentem et rebellan-

tem domit[a]m per Gáium filium meum regi Ario[barz]ani, regis Medorum

10 Artaba[zi] filio, regendam tradidi § et post e[ius] mortem filio eius

Artavasdi. § Quo [inte]rfecto [Tigra]ne(m), qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum .

oriundus, in id re[gnum] misit. § Provincias omnis, quae trans Hadri-

anum mare vergun[t a]d orien[te]m, Cyrenásque, iam ex parte magná

regibus eas possidentibus, e[st] antea Siciliam et Sardiniam occupatás

15 bello servili reciperávi. §

28. Colonias in África•SiciEa [M]acedoniá utráque Hispániá Achai[a]

Asia S[y]ria Galliá Narbonensi Pi[si]dia militum dedúxi. § Italia

autem xxviii [colo]niás, quae vivo me celeberrimae et frequentissimae

fuerunt, me[a auctoritate] de[duct]as habet.

20 29. Signa militaria complu[ra] per aliós d[uc]es am[issa] devict[is] hostib[us] re-

cipe]raví ex Hispania et [Gallia et a Dalm]ateis. § Parthos trium  
exercitum Ro-  
man[o]rum spolia et signa re[ddere] mihi supplicesque amicitiam  
populí  
Romaní petere coegi. § Ea autem si[gn]a in penetrálí, quod e[s]t  
ín templo Mar-  
tis Vltoris, reposui.

- 25 30. Pannoniorum gentes, qua[s a]nte me principem populi  
Romaní exercitus  
nunquam ad[i]t, devíctas per Ti. [Ne]ronem, qui tum erat  
privignus et legátus  
meus, ímperio populi Romani s[ubie]ci, protulique finés Illyrici  
ad r[ip]am flú-  
minis Dan[u]i. Citr[a] quod [D]a[cor]u[m tr]an[s]gressus  
exercitus meus a[u]s-  
p[icis] vict]us profligatusque [est, et] pos[teá tran]s Dan[u]vium  
ductus ex[ercitus]  
30 me]u[s] Da[cor]um gentes im[peria populi Romani perferre  
coegit.]

31. Ad me ex In[dia regum legationes saepe missae sunt,  
nunquam antea  
visae] apud qu[em]q[uam] R[omanorum du]cem. § Nostram  
am[icitiam] petierunt  
per legat[os] B[a]starn[ae Scythae]que et Sarmatarum q[ui]  
sunt citra  
flu]men Tanaim [adque u]ltrá reg[es, Alba]norumque réx et  
Hibér[orum et Medorum].

- 35 32. Ad mé supp[lic]es confug[erunt] regés Parthorum  
Tírida[tes et posteá] Phrát[es] §

IX. regis Phrati[s filius]; § Medorum [Artavasdes; Adiabenorum  
A]rtaxa-  
res; § Britann[o]rum Dumnobellau[nus] et Tin[commius]  
Sugambr]orum  
Maelo; § Mar[c]omanérum Sueboru[m Tudmerus. Ad me rex]  
Parthorum

Phrates, Orod[i]s filius, filiós suós nepot[esque omnes misit] in  
 Italiam,  
 5 non bello superátu[s], sed amicitiam nostram per [liberórum]  
 suorum  
 pignora petens. § Plúrimaeque aliae gentes exper[tae sunt fidem  
 populi  
 Romani] me principe, quibus antea cum populo Roman[o nullum  
 extite-  
 ra]t legationum et amicitiae [c]ommercium. §

33. A me gentés Parthórum et Médóru[m per legatos]  
 principes eárum gen-  
 10 tium régés pet[i]tós accéperunt: Par[thi Vononem, regis  
 Phr]átis filium,  
 régis Oródis nepótem, § Médi Ar[iobarzanem], regis Artavazdis  
 filium,  
 regis Ariobarzanis nep[otem].

34. In consulátu sexto et septimo, b[ella ubi civil]ia  
 exstinxeram,  
 per consénsu[m] úniversórum [potitus rerum omn]ium, rem  
 publicam ex  
 15 meá potestáte § in senát[us populi]que Romani a[rbitrium  
 transtulí.  
 Quó pro merito meó senatu[s consulto Augustus appe]llátus sum  
 et laureís  
 postés aedium meárum v[estigi] publice coronaq[ue] civica super  
 iánuam  
 meam fixa est § [clupeusque aureu]s in [c]úria Iúliá positus,  
 quem mi-  
 hi senatum [populumq[ue] Romanu]m dare virtutis clem[entia]e  
 ius-  
 20 titia[e et pietatis caussá testatum] est pe[r e]ius clúpei [inscrip-  
 tion]em. § Post id tem[pus auctóritáte praestiti omnibus,  
 potest]atis au[tem  
 n]ihilo ampliu[s hábui quam réteri qui fuerunt m]ihi quoque in  
 ma[gis]tra[t]u conlegae. §

35. Tertium dec[i]mum consulátu[m cum gērebam, senatus et  
equ]ester ordo  
25 populusq[ue] Románus úniversus [appellavit me patrem p]atriae  
idque  
in vestibu[lo a]edium meárum inscriben[dum et in curiá e]t in  
foró Aug. sub quadrig[i]s, quae mihi [ex] s. c. pos[itae sunt,  
decrevit. Cum seri]psi haec, annum agebam septuagensu[mum  
sextum.
1. Summá pecún[i]ae, quam ded[it in aerarium vel plebei  
Romanae vel di]missis  
30 militibus: denarium se[xi]e[ns milliens.
2. Opera fecit nova § aedem Martis, [Iovis Tonantis et  
Feretri, Apollinis,  
dívi Iúli, § Quirini, § Minervae, [Iunonis Reginae, Iovis  
Libertatis,  
Larum, deum Penátium, § Iuv[entatis, Matris deum, Lupercal,  
pulvina]r  
ad circum, § cúriam cum Ch[alcidico, forum Augustum, basilica]m  
35 Iuliam, theatrum Marcelli, § [p]or[ticum Octaviam, nemus trans  
T]iberim Caesarum. §
3. Refécit Capito[lium sacra]sque aedes [nu]m[ero octoginta]  
duas, thea[t]rum Pom-  
peí, aqu[arum rivos, vi]am Flamin[iam.
4. Ímpensa [praestita in spect]acul[a scaenica et munera]  
gladiatorum  
40 at[que] athletas et venationes et naum]ach[iam] et donata  
pe[c]unia  
colonis, municipiis, oppidis ter]rae.mótu § incendioque  
consumpt[is] a[ut  
viritim] a[micis senat]oribusque, quorum census explévit,  
in[n]umera[bili]s. §

## COMMENTARY.

*Prooemium.* Plate 1 shows the fragments which I have been able to join together in the preface of the *Index Rerum Gestarum Divi Augusti*. The upper part of most of the fragments of line 3 gives the original edge of the stones so that the first two lines must have been engraved on a separate stone or on separate stones. From lines 1 and 2 only one fragment survives and that has an original lower edge. The first letter might be I or T, but as there is no punctuation between I and A it cannot represent *divi Augusti*, and can only fit the word *gestarum*. The letters of the four lines of the preface are in the *scriptura monumentalis*, whereas the main text is in the *scriptura actvaria*, where the T and long I are often taller than the other letters. The plates show the forms of letters and the differences in their style due to several different hands which did the carving. The letters of the preface diminish in height, 0.04 m. in line 1, 0.03 m. in line 2, 0.025 m. in line 3, 0.02 m. in line 4. These fragments prove that Von Premerstein's idea (pp. 97, 98) of two lines of 107 and 78 letters respectively is wrong, but that he is right in opposing Kornemann's shorter heading and in thinking, as Ehrenberg also does, that the wording was identical with that of the *Mon. Anc.* The only difference is that *R[omae]* is placed after *positae*. My arrangement of the lines is a little awkward but no other seems possible in view of the fragments. Perhaps *Rerum gestarum* was set off as a special title above the middle of the three lines which contain 56, 58 and 57 letters respectively. In any case the superscription was not over the middle of the whole text or of the first half or over columns IV and V. It was not part of the first two columns, as Ehrenberg (p. 196) suggests. Kornemann, Ehrenberg, Von Premerstein and others have all been misled by a fragment (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 i) which Kornemann put in his shortened preface with a changed order of words, an interpretation which Ramsay said "has everything in its favor" (p. 128). I have copied and squeezed and photographed this fragment which I found in the museum at Konia. The letters are only 0.015 m. to 0.017 m. high and in different style from

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the preface, somewhat like those of chapter 4. This fragment should be placed in chapter 4, *quinquagiens . . . supplicandum . . . cónsulto*. There is no A even in Ramsay's copy, so that *in duabus* is unlikely. The traces of a letter after the letters *du* fit M. The traces in the third line of this fragment are certainly not those of POS of *positae*. This would necessitate such an impossible arrangement as Ehrenberg gives (p. 195), of one very long line with two shorter ones in the middle below. Nor is Ehrenberg's *exercitum* (p. 196) possible for this fragment. The preservation of the word *exemplar* makes me agree with Ehrenberg that the words *exemplar subiectum* are not a misunderstanding of the people of Ancyra (Mommsen XI f.), "inserted only by a blunder" (Fairley, p. 13). They were perhaps added in the copy sent from Rome to the provinces for inscribing on monuments of Augustus. Because of the differences in text and arrangement it is not likely, as some believe, that the *Mon. Ant.* was copied from the *Mon. Anc.*, but rather direct from Rome or from the letter of some Galatian legate. The title embraces only two of the three parts into which the subject matter falls, but that is no reason for believing, as Fairley (p. 13) and others do, that the Roman inscription was devoid of title. Its original form at Rome probably was *Index Rerum Gestarum . . . fecit*, with omission of the words *incisarum* to *subiectum*.

Another theory that has led to error with regard to the preface has been that the Antioch inscription was carved on the walls to the right and left of the staircase which led up to the Temple of Augustus,<sup>17</sup> or on two buildings at the top of the staircase. Ramsay (p. 108) thought that the beginning was "on the building at the south summit of the stairs, perhaps on its front." Our

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. XXVIII, 1924, p. 437, fig. 1, p. 438, fig. 2. The material of the exterior of the temple was a fine-grained whitish limestone and not marble as Ramsay (p. 107) wrongly says. Our excavations have found most of the rinceau, architrave, frieze, all four pediment corners, parts of the walls and columns, acroteria and numerous other architectural parts, enough to reconstruct the temple. So the exterior is by no means "now almost all lost." There is now no doubt that this was a Corinthian temple with a two-story circular colonnade behind and not, as Ramsay said in his "Cities of St. Paul" (1908), p. 254, pl. IX, "perhaps only the site of an Odeon."

excavations have revealed no such building and no fragments have been found on the south summit. Ehrenberg (pp. 196-197) thinks that the Antioch inscription may have been on two opposite walls or equally well on two pillars like the two brazen pillars at Rome,<sup>18</sup> or continuously on one wall like the Greek inscription at Ancyra. The place of finding of the fragments and the similarity of the fine-grained whitish limestone with its smooth surface to the material of four profiled bases on the staircase (which contrasts with the dark gray limestone of the stairs themselves)<sup>19</sup> makes it likely that the inscription was carved on the four pedestals, the faces of which were about three meters in front of the engaged columns which divided the Propylaea into three passage-ways (pl. VIIb).<sup>20</sup> The fact that many letters overlap the joint of two stones as V in *populum* and T in *positae* shows that the inscription was cut after the pedestals were in place. If only the front were inscribed, there would be only four parts; but if all visible sides were inscribed then there would be ten parts. But we have evidence for nine columns, so that I believe that two columns of writing stood on each front face of the four pedestals except the last which had only one column of letters. Columns V and VI were probably cut facing each other on the inner sides of the two central pedestals, col-

<sup>18</sup> Kornemann, *Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus*, pp. 13 ff., rightly thinks that these were free-standing and that the inscription was not on two pillars which formed an entrance through such a circular wall as Gardthausen (*Augustus I*, pp. 1279 f.; *II*, pp. 874 f.) supposes. In *Röm. Mitt.* XXXVII, 1922, pp. 142-144 Gardthausen puts the inscription on the inner side of two projecting stone supports, which he thinks were covered with bronze, on either side of the entrance, "an wie vor dem Mausoleum."

<sup>19</sup> For deposits of limestone in this region cf. Philippson, *Handbuch der regionalen Geologie*, V, 2<sup>o</sup> (Kleinasien), 1918, pl. 1.

<sup>20</sup> These bases rest on the fifth step from the bottom (*Am. J. Arch. L. c.*, p. 438, fig. 2). The one at the north is 2.19 m. long, 0.55 m. thick, 0.30 m. high, but there was a stone against this for about 0.57 m. from the north so that only 1.62 m. appeared. The next toward the south is 1.62 m. long, 0.55 m. thick, 0.32 m. high; the third one is gone and the last one to the south is 1.62 m. long, 0.55 m. thick, 0.32 m. high, with a bronze dowel still holding it in place on the stone below. On no fragment of the *Res Gestae* is the original back preserved, but some of the fragments are more than 0.25 m. thick, as the large one from chapter 22 now in Konia.

umns VII and VIII on the front of the third pedestal toward the south, column IX on the north half of the face of the pedestal furthest to the south. The front faces were much more damaged and the side surfaces with columns V and VI better preserved. This arrangement has been confirmed by the architect of the Michigan expedition, Mr. F. J. Woodbridge, who has identified at least two blocks (1.10 m. high) as definitely coming from these pedestals. The surfaces were chipped off by some instrument. No such surface damage was due to the short fall of the blocks caused by an earthquake or to debris striking on the blocks. The fragments of the inscription are of the same stone and were chipped off in a way which proves that they came from these blocks. Each pedestal was 1.80 m. across and of two blocks in front. It ran back on the sides as a cheek of the step. The side surface was irregularly triangular and perhaps two meters long. The total height was 1.80 m. or less. So these measurements leave an abundance of space for the nine columns of the *Res Gestae*. One striking coincidence is that the block preserved from the south half of the south pedestal was not inscribed, so that the ninth column, as we have said, must have occupied the north half (pl. VIIb). Most of the fragments of the explanatory preface and of the first sections were found below the stairs at the north side of the Tiberia Platea. The inscription, then, surely started at the north side at the lower part of the stairs and not at the south summit, as Ramsay (p. 108) suggests. The inscription continued toward the south so that the appendix would be at the south and not at the left or north summit, as Ramsay (p. 109) believes. The inscription would be read from left to right as at Ancyra.

There is no need of further explanation of the erection of the inscription in a formal decree or statement placed at the beginning (Ramsay, p. 108). Ramsay's idea that "the preface was placed at the end of the monument" is proved to be wrong by the absolutely certain joins which I have made of the fragments of the beginning of chapter 4 (Pl. 1), where the letters are 0.015 m. high and the space between the lines also 0.015 m. Not only do the stones join but the lower part of the E and a bit of the X of *exemplar* still survive on the stone with *triumphavi*. The width of the preface would be about 1.60 m., about the length of the bases. It went over two columns or *paginae*



(0.50 m. wide) of the text, not over two and a half columns as at Ancyra. There were 23 lines of 44 to 50 letters in the full lines in the first column. The second, beginning with chapter 4, seems to have had one line more. At Antioch there is much doubt about the exact length of the lines. In column I the original edge is only preserved after *domi* and the lines 6-9 at the right. Ehrenberg (p. 196) is wrong in making column I contain besides two lines of heading 31 more lines (*Mon. Anc. I*, 1-31). It really contains only the first twenty lines of the *Mon. Anc.* and column II contains only 24 lines and not 32 lines in addition to 2 lines of heading (*Mon. Anc. I*, 32-II, 17), as Ehrenberg supposed. The letters V M F E in line 3 take up a space of 0.12 m. and P V L V occupy 0.10 m., so that a line in the title of 58 letters would be more than 1.50 m. wide, probably, as we have said, about 1.60 m. It is impossible to be exact, as the letters are unevenly placed and not *stoichedon* throughout the whole inscription. The height of the first two lines as preserved is 0.12 m., from the top of line 3 to the top of *triumphavi* 0.09 m. The letters in chapters 1 to 5 are in general 0.015 m. in height with 0.015 m. spacing between the lines, so that the total height including the heading would be  $23 \times 0.03 \text{ m.} + 0.09 \text{ m.} + 0.12 \text{ m.}$  or 0.90 m. But some of the columns may have been 1.20 m. or more high. The space between the heading and the top of *triumphavi* is 0.03 m. and the height of the part preserved from the top of *triumphavi* to the bottom of *Arruntio* (14 lines) is 0.42 m. Seven lines here are equivalent in height to the four in the heading. So 30 lines of ordinary text would occupy the height of 0.90 m., but in the latter portions there are more letters as a rule in each line and the letters and spacing are not so high, often only 0.013 m. or 0.014 m. high. The columns would be about 0.80 m. wide. Column V was certainly 30 lines long, as part of every line is preserved. Column VII, corresponding to 37 lines of the copy at Ancyra, certainly extended from *Martia's* (22) to *oppida capta* (26), since the first letters of this and the following *paginae* are preserved. But, as the lines are shorter at Antioch, this column was probably 39 lines long. Being five steps (about 1.25 m.) up from the Tiberia Platea the inscription was conspicuous and more easily read than if it had been carved on the temple of Augustus, which was probably built before his death. Further-

more, the letters were colored red, as traces of red paint were preserved in fragments from many different chapters.

In general the lines have about 51 letters, but the number can be as low as 42 or as high as 66. Line 3 in chapter 23 may have been even longer, if *latitudinem* were written out. The problem is still further complicated by the fact that a short and long line can occur consecutively as in chapter 15 where the first line of column V has 42 and the next 66 letters. The number of paragraphs and appendices is the same as in *Mon. Anc.* and only a few readings are different, as noted in the commentary. Paragraph signs and accents or apices are frequently omitted at Antioch where they occur at Ancyra, and *vice versa*. Abbreviations sometimes are used at Antioch where the words are written in full at Ancyra and the reverse is also true. Sometimes the order of words is changed. The lines themselves are different, being about 5 letters shorter in the earlier part than in the *Mon. Anc.* The columns also are different. Instead of the six columns<sup>21</sup> in the *Mon. Anc.* we have at Antioch nine columns, not eight as Ehrenberg (p. 196) had so elaborately worked out. His conclusions thus fall to the ground. Col. I contained preface plus 23 lines, II preface plus 24 lines, III had 34 lines, IV had 33 lines, V which coincided in its beginning with *Mon. Anc.* IV had 30 lines, VI had 37 lines, VII had 39 lines, VIII had 35 lines, and IX had 42 lines, 297 lines in all.

The text as we have reconstructed it would leave no room for the idea of Kornemann (followed by Ramsay p. 129) that the erection of the *Mon. Ant.* was an act of loyalty on the part of an individual. The fragment (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 b) does not read PA·TES (see below, p. 50). The P is clearly an S (see plate VI). Ramsay's *pater testamento* and Kornemann's *patris testamento* are impossible. Thus the theory of a citizen of Antioch who erected "the monument in honor of the deified Augustus, which his father had in his will ordered to be placed," falls to the ground, as it is supported only by a fragment which certainly belongs in chapter 34 (see below). The fragments (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 e, f, g and h) which are restored

<sup>21</sup> Shipley, p. 333, thinks that this arrangement was in general a replica of that of the inscription at Rome. But, since the Antioch copy differs, this is not certain.

(Ramsay, p. 129) to read *grato animo . . . voto soluto . . . sua pecunia* and *civi optimo* can be better placed elsewhere.

*Chapter 1.* Mommsen and all other editors have failed to restore *a* before *dominatione*, which is made certain by the new fragment. Von Premerstein (p. 98) is wrong in putting here the fragment in Ramsay (p. 127, Fig. 12 g) which I was unable to find in Konia. That fragment with DO goes rather in chapter 24 or 25 or 27 or, best of all, in chapter 9. The original right edge of the stone, where I have fitted together two fragments, corresponds with the ends of lines 6 to 9, and is a continuation of the edge of the same stone as seen in the preface to the right of *populu*. In line 9 the fragment has *in* before *bello* so that for the restoration *cos. uterque bello* we must read *consul uterque in bello*. Cagnat (p. 66) wrongly omits *bello*. Kornemann (p. 34) would read *sum uterque in bello* and omit *consul*. The number of letters needed in the line requires *consul* for *cos.*, which is read by Mommsen, Fairley, Diehl, Shipley, etc.<sup>22</sup> Bormann (1895) and Cagnat rightly read *consul*. In line 10 belongs the fragment which Ramsay (pp. 114-115) put in chapter 8, *multarum rerum* (followed by Von Premerstein, p. 98). The fragment, which is to-day in Konia (0.10 m. wide, 0.08 m. high, letters 0.015 m. high), reads VIRVMR.

The fragment which I at first fitted into l. 4 into *Quas ob res* and so arranged on pl. I, I now prefer to put in c. 4 in *triumphos* and *fascibus* and to fit into *factionis* and the new restoration *Qua ratione senatus* the second fragment in the second row on pl. VIIa. Despite his good teachers Augustus does not always use the best of Latin. But cf. Caesar, B. G. 1, 28, *ea ratione . . . quod*.

2. The fragment with VNT must go at the beginning of a paragraph as it has a smooth space 0.04 m. high and a paragraph sign above the letters. It cannot go in chapter 18, as another fragment gives the VNT there. Nor can it go in *confugerunt*

<sup>22</sup> Kornemann (p. 24) rejects *cos.* because "die ältesten Teile des Dokuments alle das volle Wort aufweisen." But our new text proves that his conclusions based on the use of *cos.* or *consulibus* are impossible because in several cases (pp. 36 f., 39, 40) the full form is used at Antioch for the abbreviation at Ancyra and vice versa.

in chapter 32, because there are traces of another line and *confugerunt* is in the last line of column VIII. The fragment with *postea* has a smooth space 0.045 m. high below, showing that it came at the end of a paragraph.

3. If the two fragments of lines 1 to 3 go here (and they do not seem to fit anywhere else, not even *sacrosanctus ut* in chapter 10) then we have confirmation of Hirschfeld's restoration, *veniam petentibus*, against Mommsen's *superstitibus*, which is adopted by Fairley, Hardy, and Cagnat. The fragment placed in lines 7 and 8 may not belong here, but it fits the words *plura* and *pro* and seems to join the fragment with *aliquanto* below *remisi*.

4. All editors have failed to restore *et* before *tris egi*. The number of letters required and Suetonius, Aug. 22, confirm Mommsen's *egi* against Von Premerstein's *habui* (p. 106). The fragment VT.CV probably goes in chapter 6. All editors have also omitted the copula *et* between *viciens* and *semel*, though the Greek has *καί*. Kornemann (p. 20) rightly says "Zwei zu einer Zahl gehörige Ziffern sind durch *et* verbunden," but he thought that this passage was an exception. The fragment with CVR goes here, as it has the same style of lettering, spacing, and color. In line 4 of this section the B is certain, so that *fascibus*, the reading of Wehofer, a pupil of Bormann (1895) is confirmed against Mommsen's *laur]us*. The letter before VS cannot be R, and I thought that I saw traces of IB before VS at Angora. I prefer *fascibus* alone, or *a fascibus*, to correspond to the Greek, rather than *de fascibus*, which is too long for the space. For the fragment which fits *supplicandum* cī. above p. 22. The size and style of the letters as well as the traces of letters themselves make the attribution here certain. Two lines below, the reading preserved is *fuere*. In the other twenty cases in this inscription the ending is *unt*. In the next to the last line of this chapter I prefer *et eram* or *eramque* (Kornemann p. 29) to *agebam* which Fairley, Hardy, Shipley, Sandys, and others adopt from Mommsen. Diehl and Cagnat following Gottanka, Bormann, and Schmidt read *et eram*. This follows the Greek *καὶ ἤμην*. If one studies the *Mon. Anc.* in the light of the Antioch finds, he realizes that the Greek follows the Latin more closely than

most scholars have suspected. So, to get the proper arrangement of words, our text makes it necessary to omit the word *annum*, as Bergk, Bormann, Schmidt, and Cagnat do. Mommsen, Diehl, Shipley, and Sandys read *annum* after *trigensimum*. There is no *ερος* in the Greek (cf. also the middle of chapter 15). Mommsen wrongly estimated the lacuna as 27 letters. It is the end of a line and no letters were cut near the end, as the stone at Ancyra still shows.

5. If our arrangement of chapter 4 is right, three or four letters of *dictaturam* projected beyond the left edge of the column, since the *p* of *praesenti* comes under the *t* of *tribuniciae*. We have definite evidence of such projection in other cases. Ehrenberg (p. 194) is wrong in questioning Ramsay's reading of his fragment (p. 127, Fig. 12, 35). He proposes RAM for RLVN and fits the fragment into [*dictatu*]ram. He also then has to read *age[bam]* in the line above. We have restored *et eram* and put it two lines above. Ramsay was right, and the fragment goes where he finally put it, at the end of chapter 35 and at the beginning of appendix 1. It cannot go where he first suggested, in chapter 12 in *majeistratus*, which is an unlikely archaic spelling. What Ramsay gives as an L is I and fits into *aerarium* (cf. pl. VI for a photograph of the fragment, which was refound at Konia). So Ehrenberg's idea (p. 195) that column I containing 31 lines of the Ancyra copy ended here, falls to the ground, as we have already shown. In line 1 I restore *delatam*, as suggested by Schmidt, rather than Mommsen's *datam* or Wölfflin's *oblatam* because of the *delat[um]* preserved in the last line of this section and because Augustus has a tendency to repeat the same words and phrases. Our next fragment reads *a se[natu]* and not simply *senatu* as all other editors have read (cf. Orosius VI 18, 34, *a senatu*). There is no need of Gottanka's, Schmidt's and Shipley's *Romano*, which is not in the Greek. In line 2 the fragment which I have joined with certainty to that with part of the word *curationem* shows that *recepti* should be read for *accepi*, which has been wrongly restored by all editors. Wherever the Greek has *εδεξάμην* (as in chapter 5, last word and c. 6), we should read *recepti*. The Greek rendering of *accepi* or *acceperunt* is *ελαβον* (c. 6 and 33). All editors have restored *recusavi* but the preserved letters RECA

on the fragment shown on pl. I and the letters DEP on the fragment which joins this at the left (pl. VIIa, first in last row) make certain the reading *deprecatus sum*. This after all corresponds more closely to the Greek *παρητησάμην*. In line 4 *perpaucos* fills the space even in the *Mon. Anc.* better than *paucos*, and our arrangement makes it necessary here. In line 5 our text confirms Mommsen's first restoration in the year 1865, *praesenti*, against that of *quo erat* in his second edition (1883), followed by Fairley. This is closer to the Greek *παρόντος*. I prefer Schmidt's *sumptibus* to *impensis*, not only because it fills the space better but because the Greek has *δαπάναις*, whereas elsewhere *impensae* is rendered by *ἀναλώματα*. The proper arrangement and number of letters needed seems to make it necessary to read *et quoque* (or *aeque*) *in perpetuum* (instead of *et perpētuum*) and to put *delatum* after *perpetuum* and not after *Consulatum mihi*, where Sandys and Cagnat read *mihi oblatum*, following Haug in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* LVI, 1888, p. 94. Mommsen, Fairley, Diehl, Shipley, and Hardy read *tum datum*. No one has thought of the correct reading *delatum*, though Schmidt suggested it for line 1.

6. For the spelling *Vinicio* cf. p. 36. Von Premerstein's suggestion about the fragment (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 h) that it is part of *ut curator* is better than his first idea that it is part of *habui curulis* in chapter 4. Ehrenberg (p. 191, note 4) suggests *vivi conlegae* but the traces in Ramsay's copy are those of V, not O. Unfortunately a diligent search both in Yalivadj and in Konia failed to locate the fragment and we must consider it lost. The fragment with VS.C seems to go here rather than in 13 in *senatus claudendum*. The traces in the second line of this fragment fit *delatum* better than *fortuna*. The letter after V is M, not N. The two fragments just discussed should be at the left and not at the right of column II on pl. I. One large fragment belongs in the lacuna in chapters 6 and 7 which none of the editors have restored. With the help of this fragment, three smaller ones and the Greek translation, a tentative restoration is given which undoubtedly can be improved by others, but it now seems worth while to make a beginning. The large fragment and the smaller one joined to it (0.20 m. high, 0.19 m. wide from beginning of *poposci* to end of *accepi*) have letters

0.015 m. high, the T of *et* and the I of *sacris* being 0.019 m. (the space between the lines 0.012 m.). Because the original top edge is preserved and it comes approximately where a column should begin, I conclude that it was the beginning of column III. In that case column II had 24 lines instead of the 23 in column I. In l. 3 I have followed the Greek order in restoring *legum morumque* instead of *morum legumque* as in Suetonius (Aug. 27). In l. 4 the Greek is ἐθῆ, which is rendered by *exempla* in c. 8. So I prefer to restore *contra exempla*, though *instituta* or *mores* would be possible.

After *per* of *perfecti* there is a mark of punctuation. Such occurs after a preposition in compounds but not after a preposition by itself. The fragment with TRIB in the first line has the original top edge so that this must be in the first line of a column and it will fit nowhere else than in *tribunicia* here. But then it is necessary to restore the second line to include the M. ET. It would seem that *Romano* was abbreviated to ROM. as in the preface, and that the reading was *a sen(atu) Rom(ano) et pop. Rom.*, though the Greek mentions only the senate. There is a smooth space below, such as must have been left after *accepi*.

7. In the first line the reading was *trium virum rei publicae constituendae* as in chapter 1. *Virum* was written as a separate word and with a large V at the beginning. The text was not *triumviratum* as we should expect from Suetonius, Aug. 27, *triumviratum rei publicae constituendae per decem annos administravit*. Between the first S of *senatus* and the preserved M of *eum* with traces of D following there were probably 15 letters and likewise 15 letters between *quadra* of *quadraginta* and *fax* of *pontifex*. So, not to have too many letters in l. 4, we must read *VIIvirum*, not *septemvirum*. The fragment certainly goes here and the letters on the stone are clear, though not so on the photograph. The fragment cannot fit in chapter 10 where also we have *pontifex*, for the N is clear after VLO and so would not correspond to *populo id*. There is also a smooth space of 0.02 m. below VLON, showing that this fragment came at the end of a chapter. In line 2 Mommsen's restoration of *princeps* is confirmed against Kornemann's (p. 62) *primum dignitatis locum in senatu*, suggested by the Greek, πρῶτον ἀξιωματος τόπον, and against Von Premerstein's *primum auctori-*

*tatis locum*<sup>23</sup> (p. 105). Augustus did not avoid the title of *princeps senatus* as historians have so often assumed (cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II<sup>3</sup>, p. 895; II<sup>4</sup>, p. 971; Dessau, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, pp. 61f., 131f.). The fragment given by Ramsay (p. 127, Fig. 12a) with N and VA and smooth space below, indicating the end of a chapter, probably goes here, as Von Premerstein (p. 106) suggests, rather than in chapter 21, *manibis . . . privatis* (Ehrenberg, p. 191). It might go in 28, *Narbonensi . . . quae*. I was unable to find the fragment.

8. There are very few fragments which we can place with certainty in this chapter. The lines seem to have from 48 to 56 letters. The Konia fragment, GR—VO (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 ff.; letters 0.015 m. except O which is 0.01 m. high) is rightly placed here by Von Premerstein (p. 106) and Ehrenberg (p. 191). For l. 3 see plate VIIa, first row, second fragment and p. 52. For lines 1-3 see pl. VIIa, first row, fifth fragment and third row, sixth fragment and p. 53. For lines 8 and 9 see pl. VIIa, second row, last fragment and p. 53. Ramsay, followed by Shipley, reads in one of his fragments, where we have at the left the beginnings of five lines, *mplura* as part of *complura*, but every line preserved ends and begins with a full syllable. The Greek has πολλά, not πλείστα, and *complura* in chapters 20, 26, and 29 is so translated. Sandys (p. 263) and Von Premerstein (pp. 98-99) are right in following Bormann, Schmidt, Cagnat and Diehl in reading *multa* or *et multa*. The fragment which follows the Konia fragment (Ramsay, p. 115) has the same style of letters and spacing. It has also a smooth space and the chapter sign below MV and above the remains of the letters IPI, showing that it came at the end of a chapter and thus confirming its attribution to this place. It has been demonstrated above that the fragment (Ramsay, p. 114, 8) is wrongly located here by Ramsay. I have included the fragment MPLA here because there

<sup>23</sup> "Augustus und fast alle Nachfolger haben es anscheinend vermieden, sich titular als *princeps senatus* zu bezeichnen." E. G. Sihler, *Studies in honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve*, pp. 77-86, denies Mommsen's declaration that Augustus called himself princeps, in any sense except as *princeps senatus*. Cassius Dio's explanation of *princeps* as πρόκριτος τῆς γερουσίας (LIII, 1, LVII, 8) is not to be rejected. This is the meaning in Hor. Odes I, 2, 49.



is a smooth space beneath the letters such as would come at the end of a chapter. *Restitui*, adopted by Haug (Jahresbericht, LVI, 1888, p. 95) and Von Premerstein (p. 98) is not so good as *revocavi* read by Diehl, Shipley, Sandys, Ramsay, and Cagnat or as *reduxi* restored by Mommsen, Wirtz, Fairley, and Hardy. The fragment with E.DIDI and part of M above, found in Ramsay's previous dump where many other fragments also were discovered, has a smooth space 0.03 m. high, showing that it came at the end of a paragraph above the blank space at the end of a short line. As the fragment cannot be fitted into any of the spaces where DEDI is read, I feel that the I is not a mistake but part of the word *edidi*. The mark of punctuation after *e* is that which is used after a preposition in a compound. There is not room for such a restoration as *ipse dididi*. It is possible that the first fragment in the first row on pl. VIIa goes here and I have suggested a new restoration to fit this fragment also. The reversal of order in the position of the verbs *revocavi* and *edidi* seems strange but it occurs also in the genitives depending on the two uses of the word *exempla*. The only other possibility is to put *edidi* at the end of c. 18 but there the Greek is simply ἐδωκα and the fragment does not fit there easily. For the use of *edere exempla* cf. Caesar, B. G. 1, 21, 12; Livy XXIX, 9 and 27; Cicero, Q. Fr. I, 2, 2, 5.

9. The number of letters required confirms Von Premerstein's (p. 99) restoration of *saliē* (suggested by Heinen, Klio, XI, 1911, p. 144 f.) rather than *valetudine*, but the letters IPI reject his restoration of *ut fierent* and favor Mommsen's *suscipi* (adopted by Fairley, Ramsay, and Shipley). Bormann, Diehl, Cagnat, and Sandys read *suscipere*, which would seem to correspond more closely to the Greek ἀναλαμβάνειν, but the translator did not always preserve the exact Latin construction. The I on the stone cannot be an E. The fragment (Ramsay, p. 127, fig. 12g) which Von Premerstein (pp. 97, 98) placed in chapter 1, though he also suggested 24 or 25 or 27, cannot go there, since another fragment has been definitely located in that chapter. So probably Ehrenberg (p. 192) is right in putting that fragment here, *decrevit ex iis . . . sacerdotum . . . privatim*. But the traces in Ramsay's copy fit XI and the number of letters

needed from the beginning of the line, which is now preserved, is 28 to 30. To the *vit* of *decrevit* there are only 24 letters. So I prefer *ex iis*. Unfortunately I could not find the stone to verify the reading. A new fragment fits the VOTA of Ramsay's fragment, and three other fragments, including one in Konia, give the beginning of lines at the end of chapter 9 and the beginning of chapter 10. The fragment (Ramsay, p. 114, 9) had lost the TI recorded by Ramsay but after a careful search I located a small fragment with TI which joins it. The letters in all these fragments are 0.015 m. high. Ramsay's arrangement of the lines (p. 115) must be changed to make *conlegia* (not *collegia* as at Ancyra)<sup>24</sup> begin a new line. Ramsay's fragment should be placed near the beginning of the last two lines of chapter 9. In fact TIM would begin a new line. The fragment in Konia has perhaps traces of O with an accent and the last line of M, so that it fits *nómen*. It cannot belong to *in-clúsum* as Ramsay (p. 122) suggested.

Since the beginning of so many lines is preserved, it is possible to say that in chapter 9 the first five had 50 letters and the others about that number. This is a great help in enabling us to decide between restorations. So *salute* is to be preferred to *valetudine* and *aliquotiens* to *interdum* read by Wölfflin, Haug, Cagnat, and Sandys. I like *sacrificaverunt* rather than *sacrificia concorditer . . . fecerunt* which Cagnat and Ramsay adopt. The Greek is *ἐθυσαν* and *sacrificium facere* is twice rendered by *θυοίαν ποιῆν* in chapters 11 and 12. Mommsen, Fairley, and Hoeing all read *sacrificaverunt* after *cives* but it should be at the end of the sentence where Wirtz, Diehl, Sandys and Shipley put it. Wirtz (1912) gets credit in Shipley, Sandys, etc. for *continenter*, but Hoeing four years earlier, in *Classical Philology* (III, 1908, p. 88), proposed *continenter* for Mommsen's *semper*. For *uno animo* Professor Boak suggests *unanimiter*. The Greek is *ὁμοθυμαδόν*.

10. Luckily the beginning of this chapter is preserved with

<sup>24</sup> Here again the difference between the *Mon. Ant.* and *Mon. Anc.* as in *cos.* or *consulibus* is an argument against the conclusions of Kornemann (pp. 24 f.) based on the idea that "Die älteren Teile des Dokuments haben offenbar *conlega*, aber *collegium* geschrieben, also gerade umgekehrt wie c. 22."

the N of *Nomen* projecting to the left beyond the line of the column. I have been able to add another fragment below so that we have the beginning of three more lines. There were about 50 to 54 letters in a line, as many as 57 perhaps in the first line, the letters being 0.015 m. high. This and the fragment with part of *inclusum* over *quod* show that *senatus consulto* was not abbreviated, as Ramsay thinks probable (p. 122). Furthermore the fragment on pl. VII, l. 2, third from the left with S.CO over M.PE seems to belong here. This also makes it difficult to include Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114-115). There are many objections, such as the unique phrase *per legem sanctum* (cf. however chapter 34 *per eius clupeï inscriptionem*) and the fact that no mark of punctuation is preserved before S or after VO. As Ramsay himself (p. 122) says, the differences of eight or even twelve letters which would be necessary in the lines to accommodate this fragment seem suspiciously great. But I can find no other place for the fragment, which seems to fit one of the new fragments with NCT of *sanctum*. I have tried to reduce the difficulties by a new arrangement of the line, but even so it is necessary to infer that *meus* was omitted after *pater* to make the fragment fit. There are four letters too many between the preserved *quod* at the beginning of the line and *habuerat*. The Greek requires the relative *quod* before *sacerdotium*, and *suscepi* rather than Von Premerstein's *recepi* would seem to be the equivalent of ἀνέλαφα (cf. *suscepi* for ἀναλαμβάνειν above). But in chapter 27 *reciperavi* is rendered by ἀνέλαβον. The letter after *mortuo* is either D or R, certainly not S. So, if we do not read *cepi id* (which fills too much space) for *quod*, we are forced to read *recepi* after *mortuo*. *Suscepi*, then, cannot be restored after *mortuo*, as by Cagnat and Diehl, following Bormann. Nor would I put *suscepi* before *P. Sulpicio*, as Wirtz and Sandys do. Cf. Suetonius Aug. 31, *mortuo demum suscepit*. A fragment in Konia (omitted by Ramsay) with MO and a smooth space below, which indicates the end of a column, fits the fragment with VO and gives the first two letters of *mortuo*. I have rejected Ehrenberg's proposal p. 191 to put Ramsay's fragment (p. 127, Fig. 12 h) here. For the fragment with *confluente* see pl. VIIa, second row, fourth fragment, and p. 52. The fragment with its original top edge and LTIT over FÉCE must go in the first two lines of column IV. The

letters LTIT are part of *multitudine* and for FECE I should suggest *mentionem fecerunt* (ἰστορήσαντες). In that case M at the end of *quantum* was omitted in the *Mon. Anc.* Many suggestions have been made for this passage. Mommsen proposed *fertur*; Haug (p. 96) *tradita erat*; Seeck, Schmidt, and Cagnat *memoriae proditur*; Diehl, Sandys, Shipley, and Von Premerstein (p. 103) read *narratur*. Von Premerstein would read after *narratur coeunte* or, as he brilliantly suggests, *fertur, collecta*. The letter before ECE is, however, probably F not L, and the letter after C is certainly E not T. Even if E were a mistake for T, the spacing would exclude *collecta*, as then five letters would occupy in line 1 the space of three in line 2. Unfortunately the fragment at the end of the first line of this column has been lost and I must reproduce my drawing, which shows, however, the original edge at the top. Since the original top edge here corresponded with the top of a column, column III had 34 lines according to our arrangement. Traces of *Valgio* are clear on the stone which gives the first letters of the first four lines of chapter 11.

11. The first three lines had 53, 54, and 54 letters, respectively. The A of *aram* projects to the left beyond the other lines and there is a smooth space 0.035 m. wide beneath. For the usual restoration *iuxta* a new fragment gives a]nte ae[dés. One might put the fragment with STA in the second line below and fit it into *Lucretio . . . Augustalia . . . consulto*, and I cite this to show the difficulty in placing the fragments. Enough of the D in *reditu* is preserved, however, to make *Lucretio* impossible. The fragment with NIC fits here into *Vinicio* rather than into *Asinio* in chapter 8. While the C might be part of an O there would be only 33 letters to *norum* of *Romanorum* but 44 from there to *tri* of *triginta*. Furthermore the letter after TRI seems from the traces to have been B. But to bring *tribunorum* into the proper spacing it is necessary to assume that *senatus consulto* was abbreviated as S. C. This fragment then, instead of the restored *Vinucio*, gives the spelling *Vinicio* used by Velleius, who dedicated his Roman history to M. Vinicius, consul, and in inscriptions (cf. De Rohden-Dessau, *Prosopographia III*, p. 435, no. 444; C. I. L. XV, 4590 where the same two consuls are mentioned). Augustus preferred *i* to *u* and even wrote *simus* for *sumus* (Suet. Aug. 87).

12-13. Only five fragments have been identified with chapter 12 but two joins can be made. The large fragment has the original right edge and shows what we have maintained above, that the lines were uneven at the right and of varying lengths. In one case six of eight letters ICTORIIS occupy the space of T.CVM with two letters running beyond. A space of 0.04 m. is left smooth after AL, ET and CVM. From these fragments we can work out the exact arrangement of the lines, as we have the end of seven lines and the smooth portion at the end of chapter 12. The lines varied in length as there must have been about 49 letters between *viris* and *nemini*, 59 between *nemini* and *provincis*, 58 between *provincis* and *aram*, 59 between *aram* and *campum*, 57 between *campum* and *anniversarium*. The line ending with *victoriis* had 59 letters. The result is that, with the ends of so many lines given and this calculation, it is possible to say, as we did above, that *senatus consulto* must have been abbreviated as *S. C.* and that the first two lines had probably 57 and 56 letters, respectively. In l. 5 of c. 12 Mommsen restored § before *aram*, where none exists in the *Mon. Ant.*

The text here differs in three other respects from the conjectures of previous editors. *Iis* for *his* occurs and *et* has been omitted by restorers between *Nerone* and *P. Quintilio* and *consacranda* is the correct reading for *consacrari*. The use of the gerundive (also c. 13) shows how Augustus construed *censuit*, that the senate's vote must be carried out. It is to be noted here again that there is no punctuation after the simple preposition but only after prepositions in compounds. So here in *iis* there is no mark between *in* and *iis*. Many restorations are shown to be correct, including the first *cum* for which Haug (p. 96) wanted to read *ubi* or *quando*. The fragment given on pl. VII, l. 3, fifth from left, goes in lines 2 to 4 of c. 13. The restoration of *condita* is confirmed. The M above A.CO fits *Romani* and the PR below fits *principe*.

14. I have been able to locate with probability only two fragments in this chapter. There are three fragments which perhaps belong to the first seven lines of chapter 15, the fragment with *frumento privatim* and *duodecimim*, and the fragments on pl. VIIa, third row, fourth fragment, and last row, seventh fragment, cf. pp. 53, 54.

15. From this chapter two fragments with an original left edge and a smooth space 0.025m. wide to the left of the letters give us the beginning of eight lines, so that with the help of the many fragments, which join, it is possible to make an arrangement of the lines which is very different from that of Ramsay (pp. 115, 116). Ehrenberg (p. 192) has already criticized Ramsay's division of the lines and his own brilliant arrangement of the last three lines is now confirmed. Von Premerstein (p. 104, note 1) pointed out that the fragment which Ramsay (p. 116) correctly puts in *frumentum* and *quam* cannot possibly be right in his arrangement, which pays no attention to the free smooth space below *quam* (cf. pl. III). Von Premerstein was wrong, however, in suggesting that the fragment be put in chapter 34 and that we read there *tantum auctoritate . . . quam ii qui fuerunt . . . consulatum*. The *quam* goes at the end of the line as *ducenta* begins a new line and the NSV below is part not of *consulatu* but *consulibus* and joins our new fragment. The large fragment which Ramsay put at the end of the lines comes near the beginning and joins the new fragment there. The fragment with *dedi* comes not at the end of a line but to the left of the middle and joins the new fragments. Von Premerstein's assignment (p. 106) of the fragment NT.ID which Ramsay (pp. 112, 114, 119, 124 f.) wrongly put in chapter 26, assuming an unparalleled abbreviation *ant.* for *ante*, is now confirmed. The fragment joins the new fragments, with the letters *acceperu*. Ramsay also wrongly read VIT in *navigavit* for TVM in *quintum*.

A fragment found on May 18, 1924 seems to have been lost or stolen, and so is not included in the photographs. My copy

PHA  
gives INT These letters are evidently part of *triumphale*,  
PLE.

*viginti*, and *plebei*. It is somewhat remarkable that the line beginning with *num* had only 42 letters but that the following line had 66 letters. The two fragments which I have joined together show that the first ten letters of *tribuniciae* occupy the space of only 7 letters above, *num. mill.* So I see no need of supposing that *duodevicensimam* was rendered by XVIII or that *consul* was abbreviated. At Ancyra the same lines had respectively 48 and 56 letters, a difference of only 8 letters as

compared with 14 here. In the line beginning *-lonis* there were 47 letters but in the lines preceding and succeeding 53 letters. Such differences, as mentioned before, make it difficult to arrange the lines where few fragments are preserved. Above the three fragments with *num. mil.* and *ducenta* the original top of the stone is preserved, and this corresponds with the top of column V.

The main correction to the text as already restored is *et colonis militum*, not *in colonis*, which all editors, misled by Mommsen's commentary, which is now proved to be false, have adopted. Most of them did not even bracket the N. The E is clear on the walls of the *pronaos* of the Augusteum at Ancyra (Angora) and can be seen on Mommsen's facsimile. The slight traces after E seemed to me to be those of T. It is difficult to understand how Perrot and Domaszewski read IN where no N appears on Mommsen's facsimile. The Greek, καὶ ἀποίκους surely calls for *et*. Bergk (quoted by Mommsen, p. 59) and Wölfflin (Sitzungsberichte der Akad. zu München, 1886, p. 270) proposed to read *et* but have been forgotten. Polysyndeton is characteristic of the *Res Gestae*. *Colonis* is not, as editors have assumed, for *coloniis*. It is rather the dative of *colonus*, and the Greek translator did not, as Mommsen and others have suggested, misunderstand the Latin and change the word *in*. In the *Mon. Anc.* there is no § at the end as here.

16. A fragment previously found by Ramsay (p. 116) gives the beginning of the first four lines and the other fragments (four of them found by Ramsay and now at Konia) fix the arrangement of lines throughout this chapter. One of Ramsay's unplaced fragments (p. 127, Fig. 12 e) goes here in *solvi . . . militum*, as Von Premerstein (p. 106) and Ehrenberg (p. 191) suggested.

An important difference in the text of the new fragments is *memoria aetatis*. The *Mon. Anc.* has *ad memoriam aetatis*. Either M was omitted at Antioch, as it was at Ancyra in *ad aedem* (chapter 21), or *in merioria* was engraved. At Ancyra after Laelio the text is *cos.* whereas here we have *consulibus* (cf. above, p. 27, note). The most important difference is *circiter* in the last line. Here again all editors have wrongly read *li]b[ente]r*. The Greek is ἐγγύς, elsewhere rendered by

*circiter*, and my examination of the stone at Ancyra, of the facsimile and of squeezes showed traces which cannot fit B but only R. We must then read also in the *Mon. Anc. ci*]r[*cite*]r.

17. One fragment (Ramsay, p. 116), to which our new one joins, runs through the last two lines of chapter 16 and all lines of 17 but the last. In l. 2 *cos* has an accent, omitted at Ancyra. *Consulibus* is written in full for *cos.* at Ancyra, and *quingenties* not *quingentiens*, is the spelling here. The fragment (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 d) is rightly placed in *Qui vicena . . . septingenties* by Von Premerstein (p. 106) and Ehrenberg (p. 191), but it is lost. The arrangement is fixed by the fragment with S.ET and DO.ET, because after these letters is a smooth space, 0.03 m. wide, showing that these were the ends of two lines, of 53 and 54 letters, respectively. The first line had the same number of letters as at Ancyra but the second had two more, and included *et*. The fragment (0.065 m. wide and 0.05 m. high) with NT.SEST has a smooth space below, 0.025 m. high with a paragraph mark. So this must come in the next to the last line and shows that here *sestertium* was written out and not abbreviated as at Ancyra (Ramsay's *uis* is a misprint).

18. No fragments of chapters 18 or 19 were previously found. The new ones enable us to make an approximate arrangement of the lines. The smooth space 0.02 m. high above *deficerent* shows that this word was in the first line of the paragraph, which probably had 55 letters. *Vecti*]g[*alia*, read by all the editors, is incorrect. Even Mommsen thought that C was the only surviving letter and on the stone, squeeze, and even facsimile C is still clear, though Sandys (p. 267) says it is almost impossible to find. On the stone at Ancyra and squeeze I was also able to see BLIC and traces after those letters of AEO. So we should read *pu*]blicae *opes*, which exactly corresponds to the Greek, αἱ δημόσιαι πρὸςδοοί. This is confirmed by the third fragment in the third row on pl. VIIa (cf. p. 53). Bergk had suggested *opes publicae* but the Greek order is to be followed. The reading *multo* proposed by Schmidt (1837) for Mommsen's i[n]l]ato (adopted by Wölfflin, Fairley, and Hardy) is read by Cagnat, Diehl, Sandys, and Shipley and is now confirmed. Mommsen misinterpreted the uncertain traces of letters at Ancyra as I...ATO but they fit equally well MVLTO. Hoëing (Classical



Philology, III, 1908, p. 89) need have had no hesitation in reading *multo*. He was entirely correct in trying to find the very words of Augustus by translating the Greek as literally as possible. Mommsen's restoration of *agro*, suggested by Bormann, is confirmed by the traces of a letter before O. The word cannot be *aerario* as proposed by Gottanka (not Gottakda as in Shipley, p. 342). Nor can it be *aere* as proposed by Schmidt (adopted by Diehl, Cagnat, Sandys and Shipley). Fairley, Hoeing and Hardy have the correct restoration. Rostovtzeff (in excursus, p. 318 of the Russian edition of *Römische Bleitesserae*) proposes *gratuito* for *multo* and would read *grat[i]to fru[mentum et aes per n]umma[ria]s t[esseras ex agris]*, referring to Suetonius, Aug. 41. But Suetonius is speaking of the city populace, whereas Augustus here is surely referring to his treatment of provincials. Others (Schmidt, Diehl, Cagnat, Sandys, and Shipley) read *fru[mentarias et n]umma[ri]as t[esseras ex aere]*. But at Ancyra after the T, I could make out the traces of R, surely not E. Hoeing was probably right in reading *mul]to, fru[mentarios et n]umma[ri]os t[ributus ex agro] et pat[rimonio] m[e]o*, even though Mommsen's *tributus* is an archaic masculine. This is better than Mommsen's *fru[n]ento vel ad n]umma[ri]os* (adopted by Fairley and Hardy). It is also better than Wölfflin's (1886) *atque n]umma[ri]as t[esseris divis] ex pat[rimonio]* or Seck's *t[itulos]*.

19. Plate IV makes clear the joins that have been made. There seems to be no difference in the wording of the text from that of the *Mon. Anc.* Of course the arrangement of lines varies. In line 7 there is no punctuation mark after *in* or after *sacra*, showing that *sacra via* was conceived as one phrase or title. After *Minervae, Reginae, via, and Juventatis*, there is no section mark, as at Ancyra. On the other hand *Juvenis* has the accent on the *o* and not on the *u*.

20. There are many fragments which can be joined and placed in chapters 20, 21, and 22, so that we can be fairly sure of the arrangement of lines, especially as we have in a fragment, with part of the original right edge, the ends of lines, in *coep-, con-, filio]rum, and here]dibus*. In another fragment we have the ends of two other lines, *ex et sextum* and *temp]ore*. One fragment with an original left edge, to which a fragment with

e]t basi[licam joins, gives us the beginning of lines 2-5, but it is necessary to change the order in the *Mon. Anc.* and read *quae appellatur Marcia*, not *Marcia appellatur*. We have a sure case of different order in the preface where *Romae* is placed after *positae*, and such an order of words is justified by the Greek and by Frontinus, *De Aqueductu Urbis Romae* 12, *quae appellatur Augusta*. There can be no doubt that the fragment with For[um] goes here, as a fragment with *aede]m Sat[urni* fits below and the letters cross the two fragments. With this change made, everything else harmonizes. At first it might seem that Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114, 117) was against our attribution, but he wrongly reads RIVum in the fourth line, which, if correct, would throw out his fragment. The traces can equally well fit MIS of *inmisso*. In that case the fragment with q]uae ap[pellatur after *aquam* and a paragraph or section mark before For[um] fits perfectly. In line 9 at the beginning before *iussi* the space requires *meis*. Mommsen errs in rejecting *meis* and in saying that there is room for only 7 letters after *heredibus*. The space was engraved and in the same space above as many as 11 letters occur (*a profligata*). So I believe that the *Mon. Anc.* also read *meis*. In the sixth line, note the punctuation mark after the preposition in the compound *pro-fligata* as in line 10 after *praeter* in *praeter-misso*. In the eighth line the spelling is *inchoavi* for *incohavi* at Ancyra. In line 10 the reading is certainly *auct]oritate*. There is no doubt about TATE as I joined the two stones with these letters, but I am not certain about the fragment with ORI as I failed actually to join the fragment. I can, however, fit the fragment nowhere else, and the EBA may belong to *debebat*. Mommsen's restoration which had been adopted by all scholars, *decreto*, must be rejected. They have been misled by a wrong restoration in the Greek in *δόγμα]τι*. We should restore *ἀξιόμα]τι* as in chapter 34, where we shall see that the Latin for *ἀξιόμα[a]τι* is *auctoritate*. *δόγματι συνκλήτου* would be *senatus consulto*, as in Wirtz's restoration in chapter 22, which is adopted by Diehl, Sandys, and Shipley, though not by Cagnat and Hardy. On *δόγματι συνκλήτου* cf. Meuwese, *De rerum gestarum divi Augusti versione Graeca* (1920), pp. 66 f. There is room on the stone at Ancyra for *auctoritate*, and *decreto* is too short. Furthermore, I could see clear traces of TE. Even on the facsimile these two letters can

be seen faintly on the preserved right edge. Bergk, quoted by Mommsen (p. 86), rightly suggested *auctoritate* but wrongly proposed γνῶμη. *Auctoritate*, far from being incongruous with *sermonis Augusti proprietate*, is very characteristic, as Von Premerstein and Bärenberg and Heinze have recently shown (cf. p. 50). In the last line our text gives *pontes*] *que* for the usual restoration [*et pontes*] in the *Mon. Anc.* There was no *in ea* after *pontes* as Sandys would restore, following Wölflin and Cagnat. Hoeing (Cl. Phil. III, 1908, p. 89) also wrongly reads *et in ea* before *pontes* and after *Minucium* he has *munivi*, a word not elsewhere used of *pontes*. The original surface is preserved after *Minucium* at Angora and it was never inscribed. The interpretation is clear, if after *Ariminum* we repeat *refeci* from the previous sentence. The spacing and number of letters required and appendix 3 confirm this. For the fragment which gives the *Min* of *Minucium* over *que* cf. pl. VIIa, last in the first row and p. 52.

21. We seem to have the beginning of this paragraph in a fragment with an original left edge and the letters IN, 0.04 m. from the edge. The M in the second line is 0.06 m. from the edge. Ramsay's fragment (p. 127, Fig. 12 a) might possibly go in lines 2 and 3, *manibus* and *privatis*, as Ehrenberg (p. 191) suggests. But then the first four letters of *privatis* would occupy the space of the first two of *manibus*, if the drawing is correct. That is possible, but the fragment belongs better in chapter 7, *quindecimviri—arvalis*. In line 2 the reading is clearly *ad aedem*. The *aede* in the *Mon. Anc.* is a stone-cutter's error and not a case of *ad* with the ablative, as is stated in Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher, Suppl. XXV, 1899, p. 56. Sandys is the only editor who rightly reads *aede(m)*. All others have *aede*. In l. 3 *feci* has no accent *ās* at Ancyra. So *refeci* in c. 20, l. 10. In line 6 *sestertium* is written out and not abbreviated as in the *Mon. Anc.*

The large fragment (0.33 m. high, 0.25 m. wide, 0.25 m. thick) which Ramsay (pp. 114, 117) found with the ends of thirteen lines and the bottom of a *pagina*, on which more letters can be seen than in the drawing, is extremely important now that we have found so many other fragments which can be joined in chapters 20-22. Several have the original top edge and some

a smooth space below, which comes at the end of a column. Here we can establish the exact length of the *pagina* as 37 lines from the beginning of chapter 19 to line 7 inclusive of chapter 22. It begins where column IV of the *Mon. Anc.* does. The first 37 lines of the fourth column of the *Mon. Anc.* are included and it contains only the words *consul XIII ludos* more than the first 37 lines of the *Mon. Anc.*, an interesting coincidence. The whole column is shorter, however, by 17 lines, since column IV at Ancyra contained 54 lines, as far as the end of chapter 24. Ehrenberg made the suggestion (p. 196) that the second part of the *Mon. Ant.* began with column V and that this corresponded to the beginning of column IV in the *Mon. Anc.*, where the second division starts. But column VI, not V, begins the second part at the same line with column IV of the *Mon. Anc.* Ehrenberg thought naturally that the *Mon. Ant.* had eight columns, but our fragments prove conclusively, as we have said, that it had nine. In line 4 of chapter 21 the man who drew Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114, 117) has omitted in line 1 AED, but in general for one who knew no Latin he did very well. Ramsay (p. 117) wrongly reads QVOTIENS.CVMQVE for QVOTIES.CVMQVE (so above in c. 17 *quingenties* for *quingentiens*). The *Mon. Anc.* has the N. The fragment with an original top edge ART (now lost) which Ramsay (p. 114) puts in chapter 21 cannot be part of *Martis*, as that occurs in our new fragments. At the end is a paragraph mark omitted at Ancyra.

22. Here again we have the beginning in a fragment which has its original left edge. From the edge to the letters TER is 0.04 m.; to R is 0.06 m. A new fragment joins between two of those found by Ramsay (p. 114, third row, from the left the second and the third, which should come first and in which in line 5 L should be read for I in CIAR). Another fragment joins one of these at the right. In line 3 of this chapter the large fragment reads at the end *spec]taculu* (*sic*). There is a lacuna here in the *Mon. Anc.* and perhaps we should read *spec[ta]c[ulum]* there, but it is not necessary as *spectaculum* occurs in chapter 23. Ramsay would read the final *m* at the beginning of the next line. But words are always divided by syllables in the *Mon. Ant.*, and now the finding of the fragment with P shows that *populo*

began the line. The final M was probably omitted for lack of space. In l. 5 there was no § after *quater* as at Ancyra.

In line 8 Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114, 117) with its original top and left edge gives us the beginning of a new *pagina*, though not of a paragraph, since the M of *Martiales* does not project beyond the left line of the letters. In line 9 (the second of this *pagina*) I have adopted Wirtz's restoration (p. 410) of s. c. *mecum fecerunt co*n[su]les, adding *ex*, owing to the number of letters needed, namely nine. The abbreviation s. c. should be read with *ex* and not, as Sandys restores, *senatus consulto*. The restoration *fecerunt* is confirmed by Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114, 117), where C is omitted before ERVNT. In the last line of 22 Ramsay's fragment (p. 114, third row, third from right, p. 117) reads in the first line R-TR, not CIR. The fragment with CIRCIT which Ramsay (p. 114, fourth row, third from right) puts in chapters 25, 26 goes here and actually joins this fragment to the left, giving us *circiter tria*, and in chapter 23 *spectac*lum or *spectacu*lum *populo*, and *ca*vato [s]olo. The VAE in Ramsay should be VATO, and R occurs above the second C of *circiter*.

23. The fragment with *pedes* has a bit of the original right edge and a smooth space above NC, so that its position is fixed at the end of the first two lines of the paragraph. The restoration *solo* based on Suetonius, Aug. 43, *cavato solo*, is confirmed. The arrangement of the lines is very uncertain. The second seems to have 63 letters. To reduce the length of the third line to even 64 letters it would be necessary to abbreviate *lat(itudinem)*, and perhaps *longitud(inem)* was shortened in the second line, giving only 59 letters there. As the first line has only 58 letters and as the necessary spacing between parts of preserved words makes some such change compulsory, I have adopted this solution, especially as a fragment with an origi-

N  
nal left edge gives INL. The letters, 0.046 m. from the edge,  
PL

are clear on copy and squeeze but not on the photograph. There is no punctuation mark between N and L but, as we have seen, after the simple preposition such does not occur. For the fragment with . . . *autem* . . . *pugnaverunt* . . . *omnium* cf. pl. VIIa, first in second row and p. 52.

24. Here, besides three fragments of Ramsay (the one with <sup>MEO</sup> PO lost), seem to go two new fragments which I have joined together. It is necessary, however, to assume an omission of the letter R in *circiter*. So in the *Mon. Anc.* M was omitted in *aedem* (21) and N in *provincias* (26). Of the fragment of four lines, which was stolen from Ramsay's tent in 1914 (Ramsay, p. 124), no drawing is given from the copy of a copy which was made for Professor Desau. Ramsay thought that it read *quad]rigis* for *quadrigis* in the *Mon. Anc.* I was able to locate this fragment in a dealer's shop in Constantinople but only the last two of the four lines seen by Ramsay remain with the words *que ea pecunia* and *mīhi statuarum*. The upper part was re-found in Yalivadj and reads RIGEL. Ramsay mistook an accidental curving line, very close to the E, for S and read RIGIS. The reading evidently was the same as in the *Mon. Anc.* Ramsay's copy erred in assuming that "the block ends at an interval of nearly two lines below STATV." The block does not end (cf. pl. V) and there was only one line left smooth which would come after *psui* at the end of the paragraph. The height of the smooth portion is 0.024 m., and even 0.045 m. might be smooth from the bottom of one line to the top of the second line below, 0.015 m. being the usual height of the lines and the space between them. In fact there is trace of a letter from the first line of chapter 25, probably part of A with a punctuation mark before *dominis*. To Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114, 118) another new one joins, completing *aurea* and *honorem*.

25. I have been able to place only three fragments (one with smooth space and paragraph mark) in this chapter besides the two already placed here by Ramsay, and one which gives parts of the end of chapter 24 and the letters ON of *praedonibus*. There is a fragment of four lines which might belong here if we twist the lines and assume a mistake of *aedem* for *eadem* (cf. pl. VIIa, first row, fragment 3). It would then have parts of *contra*, *ad supplicium*, and *sponte sua*. *Aedem* occurs so often in the *Mon. Ant.* that it could easily be carved for *eadem*.

26. Neither of the two fragments which Ramsay places here really belongs in this section. That with *quae* cannot go here because the letters *ae* of *quae* occur on our new fragment.

Ramsay misread VAT for VAE. The fragment belongs in chapters 22, 23 (cf. p. 45). The fragment with NT.ID (which would give an unparalleled abbreviation for *ante* as well as an unusual stop between *ant.* and *id*) actually belongs to *acceperunt* in chapter 15. On one of the new fragments the N is preserved in *provincias*, showing that the certain omission in the *Mon. Anc.* (not given by Cagnat and Hardy) is a stone-cutter's error. For the fragment with *regione . . . pacificavi nulli* cf. pl. VIIa, fifth in second row and p. 53. The smooth space which existed between chapters 25 and 26 is seen on two fragments. On the one, to the right can be read part of X of LXXXIII of the next to last line of 25. Below *acie et oppida* is seen the smooth space which was at the bottom of a column, not of a chapter. This column had 39 lines and corresponded to 37 lines of the *Mon. Anc.* The next column begins with *In Aethiopiani*. Three new fragments, in addition to Ramsay's at the left (pp. 114, 119), give the original top edge of the next column. The fragment with PIAM in Ramsay's facsimile (p. 114) should have above a heavy straight line to indicate the top edge of the stone. The fragment which made Ramsay (pp. 114, 119) assume an abbreviation *exercs* for *exercitus* I could not find in Yalivadj or Konia. Our new fragment with *exercitu[s]* shows that, as Von Premerstein (p. 95) and Ehrenberg (p. 190) surmised, such an abbreviation is impossible. The letter before S in Ramsay's fragment was part of V and this came under the X of *proxima*.

27. Ramsay's two fragments (pp. 114, 119) did not fix the arrangement of the lines of the entire paragraph, as he believed. The large new fragment, which was found on the Tiberia Platea 3 metres in front of the middle of the staircase with the final letters of *reciperavi* over SIC of *Sicilia* in line 1 of chapter 28, necessitates an entirely different order. The letters in line 3 which Ramsay reads as AI.R of *maiorum* are M.NO of *maiorum nostrorum*. Of the other of Ramsay's fragments only the last two of the five lines remain, but I have been able to join to it a small fragment which completes the word *magna*. No stone with such a long right-hand splintered portion but with an original right edge, such as Ramsay gives in his article, could be found. Our new fragment shows definitely that Ramsay

must have been wrong in assuming such an original right edge as is marked in his facsimile (p. 114, reproduced on our pl. V) and in his text (pp. 113, 119). We have another stone which must go here (cf. pl. V). The letters on Ramsay's fragment must come near the end of lines and not in the middle. Here is another example of punctuation after a preposition in a compound, *inter.fecto*.

28. The beginning of the first four lines of this chapter with the projecting C of *Colonias* was found. Ramsay placed none of his fragments here but Von Premerstein (pp. 106, 107) rightly identified with chapter 23 the fragment which Ramsay (p. 127, Fig. 12 A<sup>4</sup>) had attributed to appendix 4. The fragment is lost and I could not verify the drawing. For the usual restoration *me[is auspiciis]*, in view of the significant discovery of the use of the word *auctoritas* by Augustus in the *Res Gestae* (cf. p. 50), I prefer Wölfflin's (p. 267) neglected suggestion of *me[a auctoritate]*. The traces on the stone at Ancyra, as I examined it, seemed to agree and we surely need at least 12 letters to fill the space, whereas *me[is auspiciis]* is too short.

29. There is only one small new fragment with the letters IOS of *alios* and a smooth space above, 0.04 m. high, showing that these letters come in line 1 of some paragraph. They can not belong to *filios* in chapter 15, because the traces of letters above do not fit in chapter 14. Ramsay found two fragments (pp. 114, 120), one of which gives the right edge. Of the other only the second line with the letters O.MA is left. Plate V shows Ramsay's drawing beside the fragment as it exists to-day.

30. Only Ramsay's one small fragment and two small new ones have been identified with this paragraph, but they furnish an approximate arrangement of the whole.

31. We seem to have the projecting first word, AD. The fragment, which extends into chapter 32, is that published by Ramsay (pp. 114, 120). He fails to show the M preserved before QVI. One new fragment seems to belong here, as the four letters E.VLT cannot possibly be placed elsewhere satisfactorily. But it is necessary to read *adque* for the usual restoration of *et*. For the fragment with *reges . . . reges* cf. pl. VIIa, second in fifth row and p. 54.



32. A very interesting thing here is the fact that a new column begins not with the first line, but with the second line. Ehrenberg (p. 193) pointed out the fact, which Ramsay had not observed, that his fragment (p. 114, last line, second from right), where FILI should be read for EILD, probably had an original upper edge. This is now confirmed by two or three new fragments, all of which belong here and have their original upper edge. Unfortunately one of them was not photographed at once, before it was stolen. But I had made a drawing which shows the upper edge. Among the fragments purchased from natives I later with some difficulty recognized four which belong to the one shown in my drawing, which gives in the third line SVE, though now only SV is preserved (cf. the second from the left at the top of plate VI). There can, then, be no doubt that a new column began with *regis Phratis*. Since there seems to be no reason why this column should not have begun with the first line of the chapter, which must have looked awkward at the bottom of the last column with a space above and below it, and since the sixth column of the *Mon. Anc.* begins also with *regis* there may seem to be some influence of the *Mon. Anc.* I still believe, however, that the *Mon. Ant.* was not copied from the *Mon. Anc.* (cf. above, p. 22). Ehrenberg rightly places at the end of the first line of this new column the letters ART which Ramsay had wrongly put in appendix 2, assuming that a new column began there. Though I have not been able to find this little fragment which Ramsay's facsimile (p. 114) places in chapter 21, the new fragments prove that a new column did not begin with appendix 2. In line 3 (line 2 of the ninth column) Sandys (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1918 (2), pp. 97-110) rightly restored from coins, which were found mainly near Sussex, the name of the British king as *Tincommius*. The usual reading *et Tim.* (followed even by the latest editions of Diehl, Cagnat, and Shipley without any mention of Sandys's restoration) is due solely to Chishull's copy of Tournfort's copy of the *Mon. Anc.*, made as long ago as 1728. To get the proper adjustment of words and letters in the new fragments, it is necessary to read in line 7 *expertae sunt fidem populi* and not *populi romani fidem*, as in the *Mon. Anc.* (for difference in order cf. pp. 21, 42). Sandys wrongly restores an abbreviation *p.R.*

33. The new fragment, especially with the short line ending in *nepotem* enables us to arrange this chapter with a fair degree of accuracy.

34. Several new fragments belong here and some of them I have been able to join together. The fragment with O.SE over ME on pl. VIIa, first in fourth row, would also certainly fit here in lines 4 and 5. Several previous restorations are confirmed, but in four cases the reading is different. *Augustus* was written in full and not abbreviated to *Aug.* as in Mommsen's restoration. There is an *et* between *iustitiae* and *pietatis*, and after *quam* occurs the word *ceteri* which has never before been suggested. But the most important difference and one far-reaching in significance for the study of Augustus' position and policies is the word *auctoritate* for *dignitate* (cf. Ehrenberg, pp. 200-213; Heinze, *Hermes*, LX, 1925, pp. 348-366). Ramsay (p. 127, Fig. 12 b) had failed to read the fragment correctly, mistaking an S for a P, and had proposed the impossible abbreviation PA for *patris* in *pa(tris) testamento*. For the theory based on this cf. above, p. 26. Von Premerstein (pp. 98, 104-106) with his keen epigraphic sense read *exussá. testatum* and placed the fragments in chapter 34, reading *auctoritate*. The photograph of the fragment now in the Konia museum and of the new fragment, which joins this, confirms the reading and attribution beyond the shadow of a doubt. To secure the necessary arrangement of lines and words to agree with the new fragments we must, however, read the words in the order which Ehrenberg (p. 191) suggested, *tempus auctoritate praestiti omnibus*, not *omnibus auctoritate praestiti* as in Von Premerstein's article. As a result of the new fragments I have adopted a slightly different order of the lines from Von Premerstein (p. 98) and Ehrenberg (p. 191). Ehrenberg bases his arrangement on a new reading MA in *magistratu* for Ramsay's HI in *miki*. The letters come above STER in *equester*. Here Ramsay is right. The letters are HI and I also read on the stone the following letters, QVO of  
EMM  
*quoque*. There is some doubt about the fragment with IV  
INS,  
 placed on pl. VI after the fragment with *positus*.

35. One of the new fragments joins to the left that found

by Ramsay (pp. 121, 127, Fig. 12, 35) and shows that *inscribendum* must be read without *esse* following. Another fragment fits between two Konia fragments, as can be seen on pl. VI. Ramsay was entirely right about the fragment which runs into appendix 1. Unfortunately his facsimile (p. 127, Fig. 12) gave RLVN for RIVM, and this misled Ehrenberg (p. 194) to read RAM and restore the word *dictatu]ram* in chapter 5. This was probably to bolster up his hypothesis (p. 194) that no other copy of the *Res Gestae* contained the appendices. But we now have fragments from all four appendices which cannot be placed elsewhere. This fact brings evidence against Mommsen's idea (p. 156) that the officials of Ancyra added the appendices.

Appendices 1-4. The fragment with *sexiens* from appendix 1, and the fragment of 3 lines from appendix 2 help us make an approximate arrangement of lines. Just enough of the first M of *Flaminiam* is preserved above *spectacula* to show that appendix 3 did exist. But, while the four appendices existed as in the *Mon. Anc.*, there is no evidence for Ramsay's idea (pp. 109, 112, 128) that the appendices in the *Mon. Ant.* were longer than in the *Mon. Anc.* It is necessary, as we have seen, to discard the fragment which Ramsay (p. 121) placed in appendix 4. There are two new fragments which join and assist in the arrangement of the lines. It is improbable that, as Ramsay (p. 128) says, the Latin version should mention the provincial towns before the Italian, while the Greek mentions the towns in Italy first. There is generally agreement between the Greek and Latin versions. I have adopted in the lacuna Von Premerstein's restoration proposed in the *Philologische Wochenschrift* XLII, 1922, 142. The *o* of *motu* has an accent here but not in the *Mon. Anc.* On the other hand the *o* of *quorum* has no accent here as in the *Mon. Anc.*

*Fragmenta incerta.* On plate VIIa are reproduced several small odds and ends. Some of these were placed too late to be included in the other plates. Others are doubtful, and some I have not been able to place at all. The fragments show at least three different hands and some may not belong to the *Res Gestae*. Several cannot be placed because they contain so few letters that they might go in different sections. The plate shows the letters

preserved and the traces of broken letters which cannot be given in type.

Row 1. In the first row the first fragment has the letters  
ONG

ATIS This fragment I have tried to fit at the end of c. 8 by  
O.REV

suggesting a new restoration for the lines there. The second fragment has the letters

XI

CENS

SVNT

VM

This does not seem to fit anywhere, not even in c. 8, unless we can change the order of words. If the C is a G and we read for *alterum et quadragensimum, quadragensimum et alterum* in the third line of c. 8, *sunt* in the next line and *iterum* in the following line would fit. But this is very doubtful, though possibly the traces of letters above CENS belong to *sexto*. The third fragment has been discussed on p. 46. The fourth with VIT could fit the end of *creavit* in c. 1, *consecravit* or *appellavit* in c. 11, *designavit* in c. 14, *navigavit* in c. 26. The fifth fragment is in the *scriptura quadrata* as is no. 5 in the second row. It seems to belong to *fetialis* and *patri-ciŏrum* in chapters 7 and 8. Fragment 6 seems to go at the end of chapter 20 and at the beginning of chapter 21, and so we have included it there. It is in the same cursive majuscule style as fragment 4.

Row 2. The first fragment here I have placed at the end of c. 23 and at the beginning of c. 24 (cf. p. 45). The

second fragment seems to read  
'FAC  
NESEN and probably goes  
in lines 3 and 4 of c. 1, where the same style of letters is used and a comma occurs as a mark of punctuation (see above p. 27 and pl. 1). The third fragment may go in c. 10. The fourth has an original upper edge and the same style of letters as those at the top of column IV, so that we should probably read there in the first line (c. 10, l. 7) *confluente* (cf. Suet., Jul. Caes. 16, *multitudo confluens*) instead of the restoration *coeunte*. There is not room for *tanta*. If *tanta* is read, then *confluente* should be shortened to *fluente*. Traces of the

last stroke of M and of E are visible in the second line of the fragment, probably part of *mentionam*. Fragment 5 may fit into c. 26, *regione . . . pacificavi nulli . . . Oceanum*. Fragment 6 I am unable to place satisfactorily. It will not fit c. 30 in *adit . . . imperio . . . quod*, nor in c. 8 in *imperio . . . Pompeio*. It might possibly be part of c. 8, end of lines 6-8 *censa . . . triginta . . . conlega*. If there were a mark of punctuation after RI, I should suggest chapters 2 and 3, *publicae . . . mari civilia . . . victorque*. Fragment 7 has the original right edge preserved and goes at the end of lines 8 and 9 in c. 8 in Tib. and *lustro*.

*Row 3.* The first fragment with AR over parts of RES may go in c. 1 in *comparavi . . . oppressam*. There are four letters more from the beginning of the line to *oppressam* than to *comparavi* but there are two M's in the first line which would increase its length; or the fragment may go in c. 13 in *marique . . . bis*, or in c. 17 in *da-entur . . . sestertium*. The second fragment has so much smooth space below M that it must come at the end of a column, not at the close of a paragraph. The third fragment has an original left edge. The letters are badly worn but they seem to be IN over PVBL over TAR. My copy, made before the stone was broken, shows the projecting I of IN so that the fragment must be placed at the beginning of chapter 18. Fragment 4 has EO over VM over RI. Perhaps this goes in c. 15 in *meo . . . iterum . . . quadringenos*, especially if *consul* in line 3 was abbreviated. Fragment 5 is now placed in c. 13 in *a condita . . . principe*. Fragment 6 has a section mark after I in the third line under TVM under CIO, and fits the beginning of c. 8 in *Patriciorum* and *senatum* and *egi*. It probably would join the fifth fragment in row 1. Fragment 7 with OD over M could go in too many places to enable us to be certain of its assignment.

*Row 4.* The first fragment with O.SE over ME goes in c. 34 in *meo senatus . . . mearum* (cf. p. 50). The other fragments in this row have too few letters to enable us to locate them.

*Row 5.* The first fragment joins that given on pl. I, with

ECA and part of R before E as the oblique right edge shows. It confirms the reading *deprecatus* in c. 5, line 2. The second fragment with G over EG might possibly go at the end of c. 31 and the beginning of c. 32 in *reges . . . reges*. The third fragment with ET, the fourth with CON, the fifth with O over IA, the sixth with IM, and the eighth with M.E and part of O above could fit into many places but into no one with certainty. The seventh with IMO over the upper part of the letters MPE probably goes in c. 15 in *decimo* and *viritim pernumeravi*.

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PLATE I—Columns I and II and Heading.



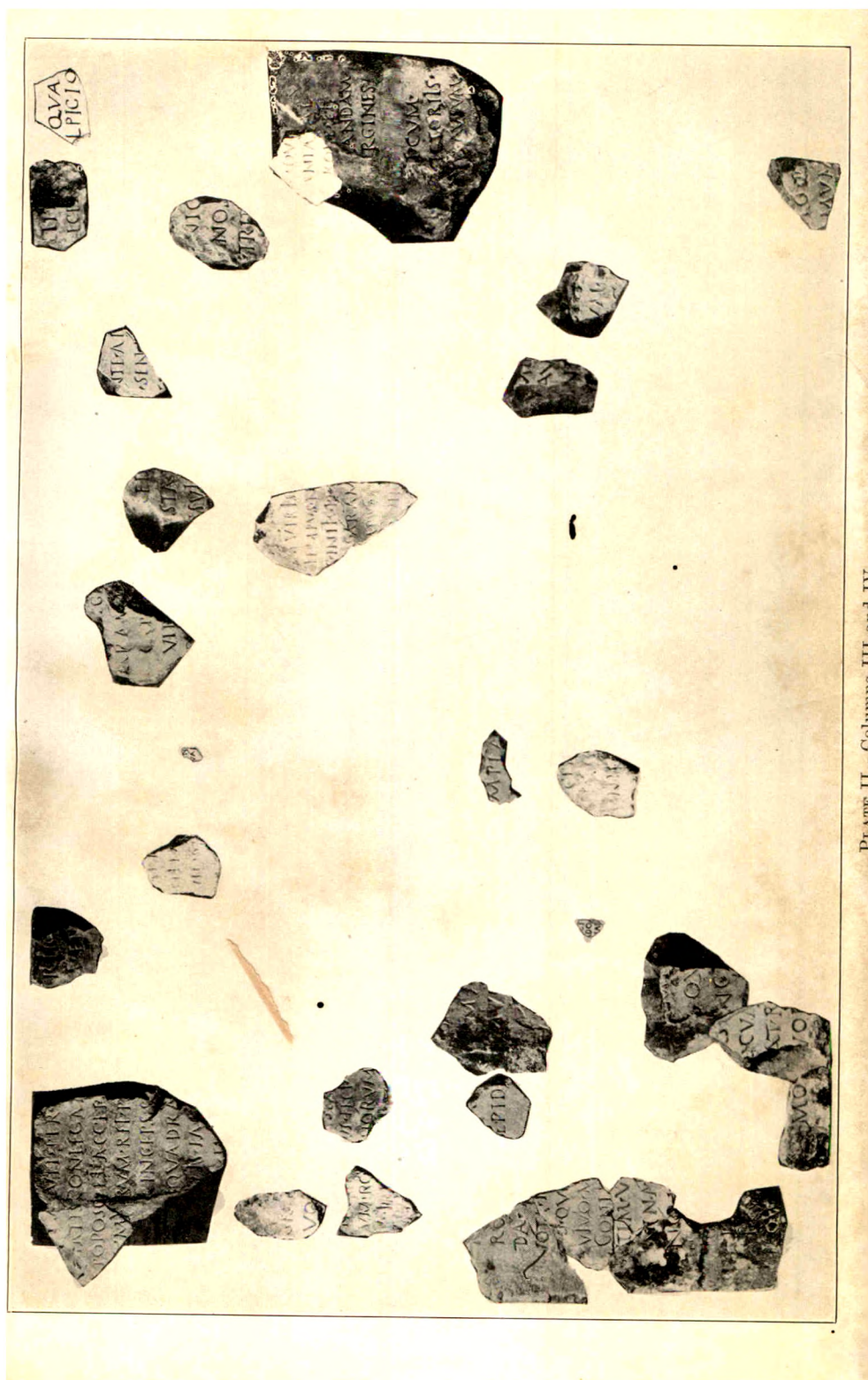


PLATE II - Columns III and IV



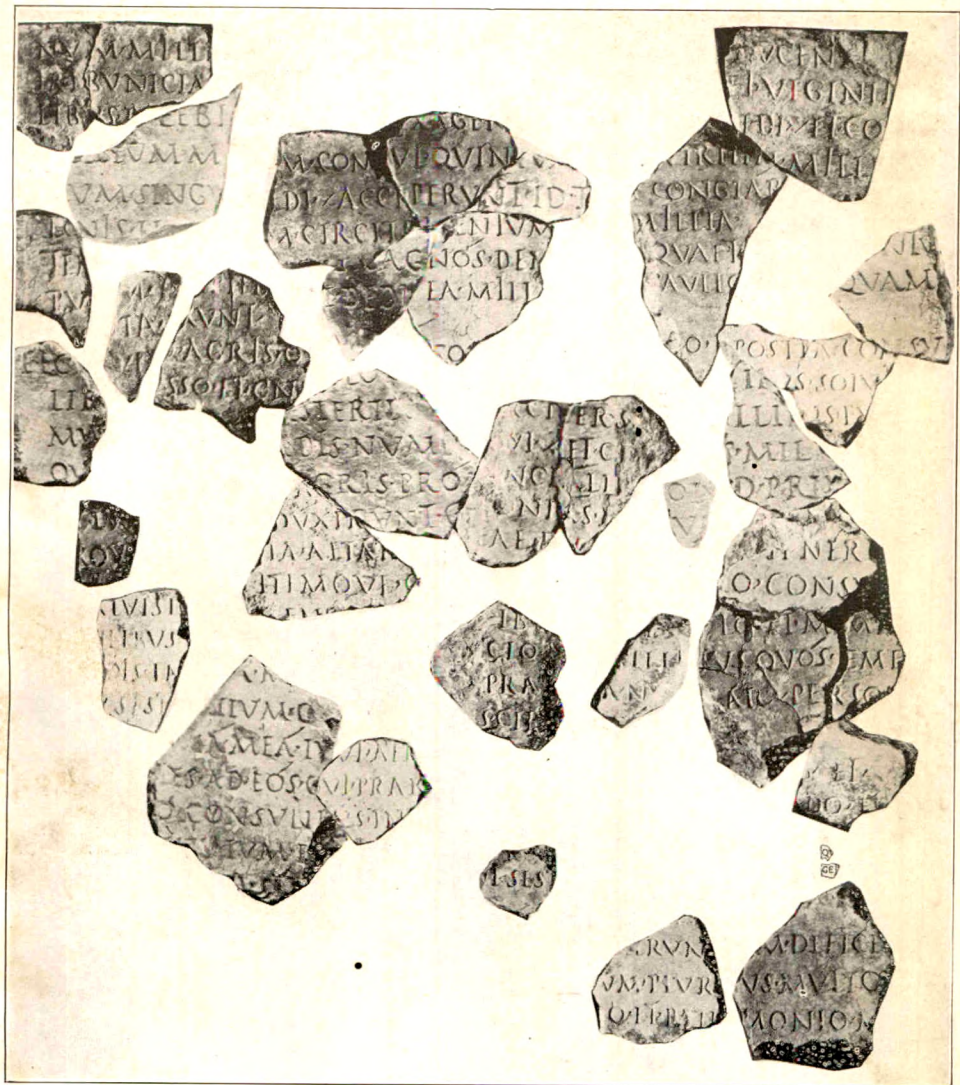


PLATE III—Column V.

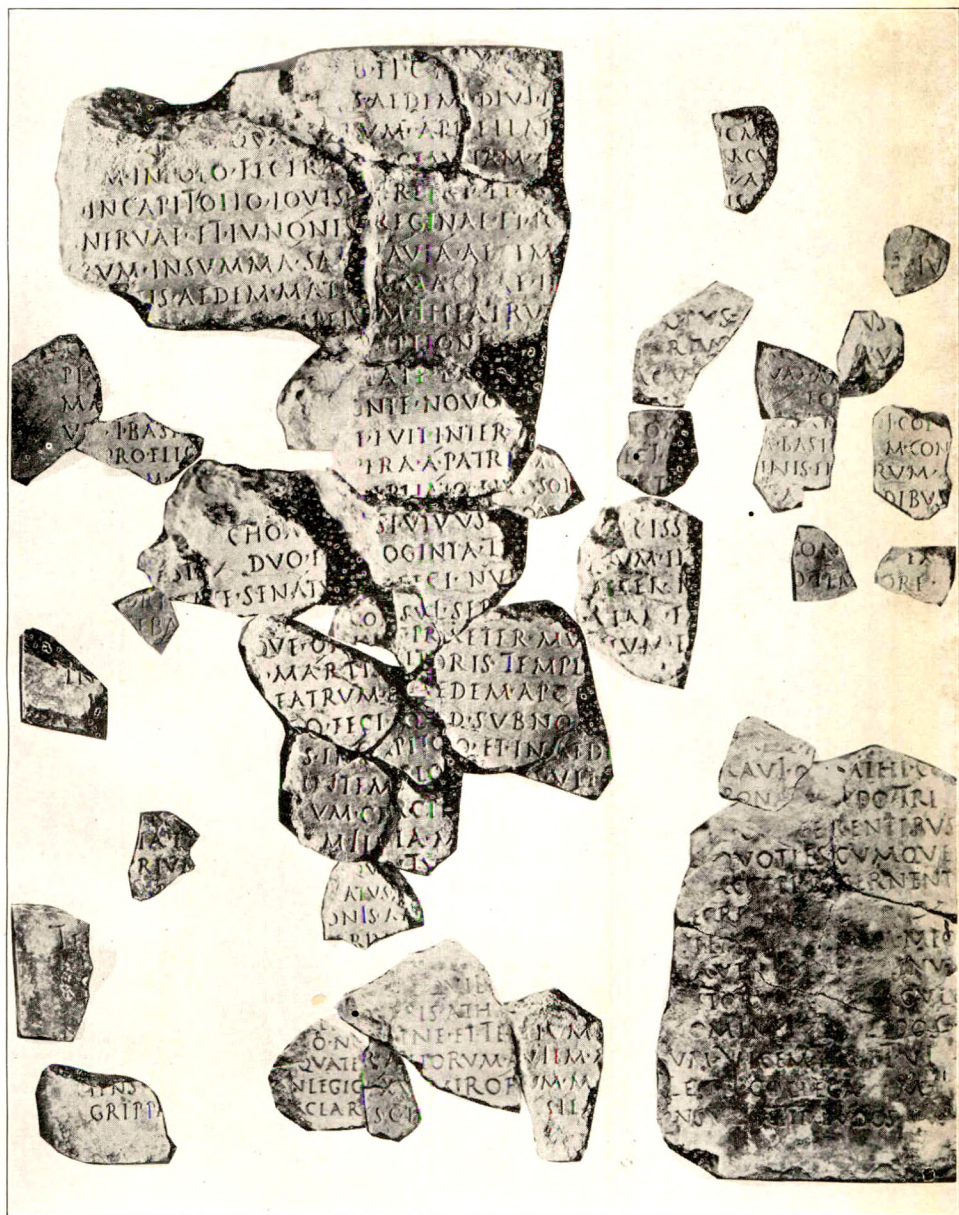
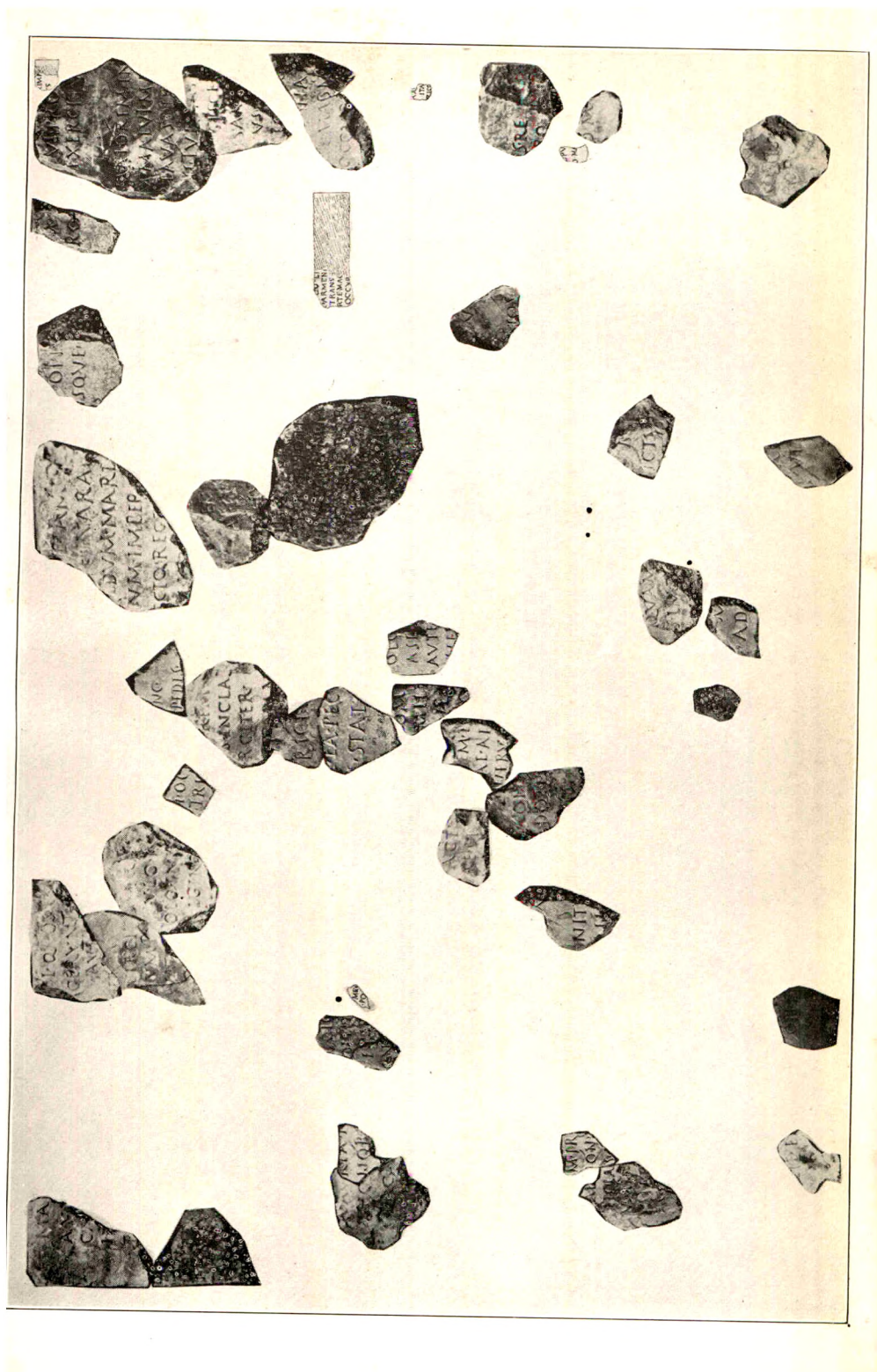


PLATE IV—Column VI.





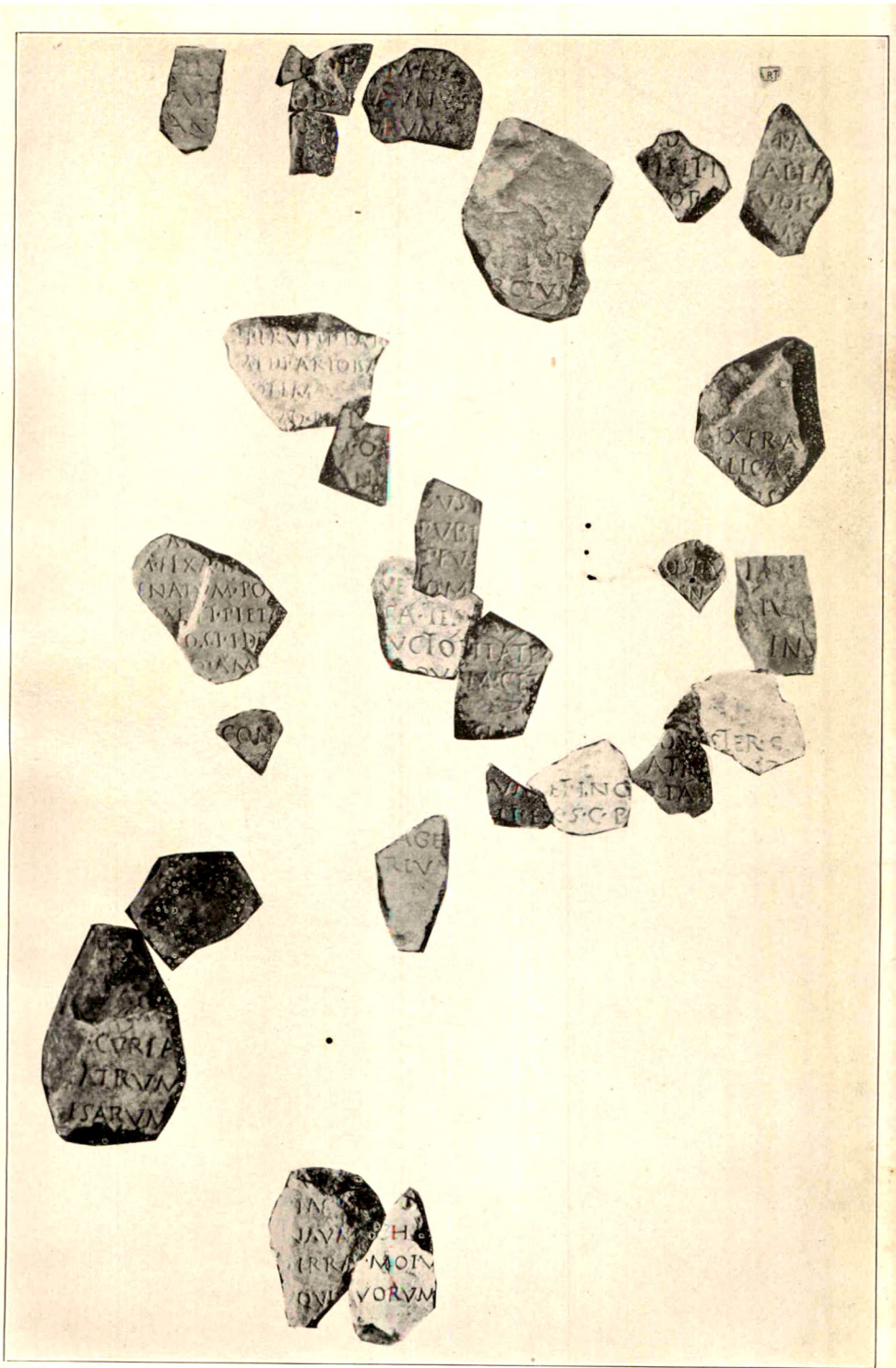


PLATE VI—Column IX.



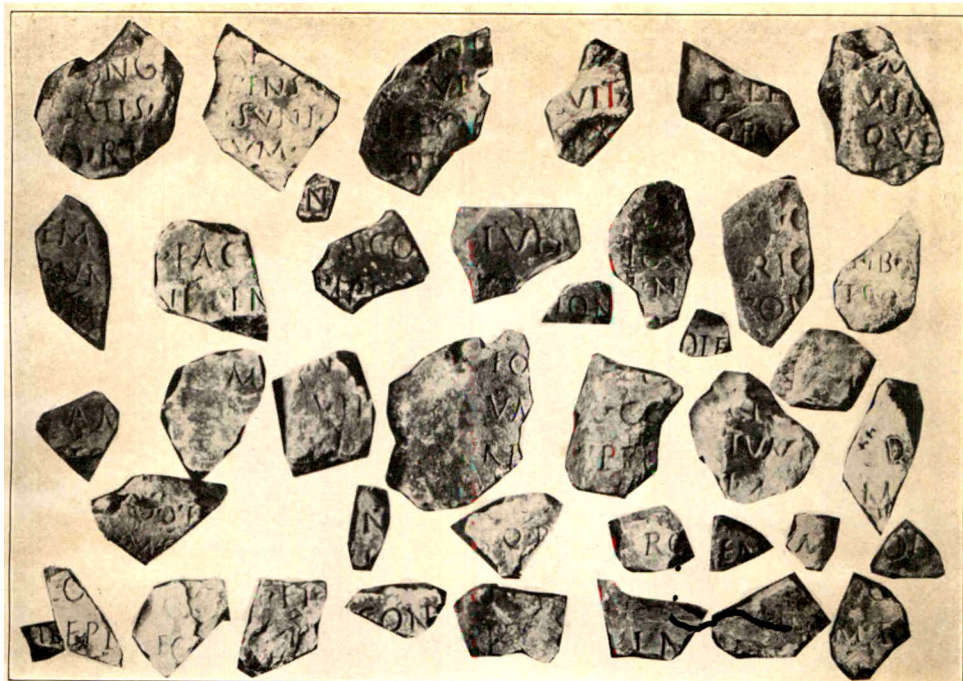
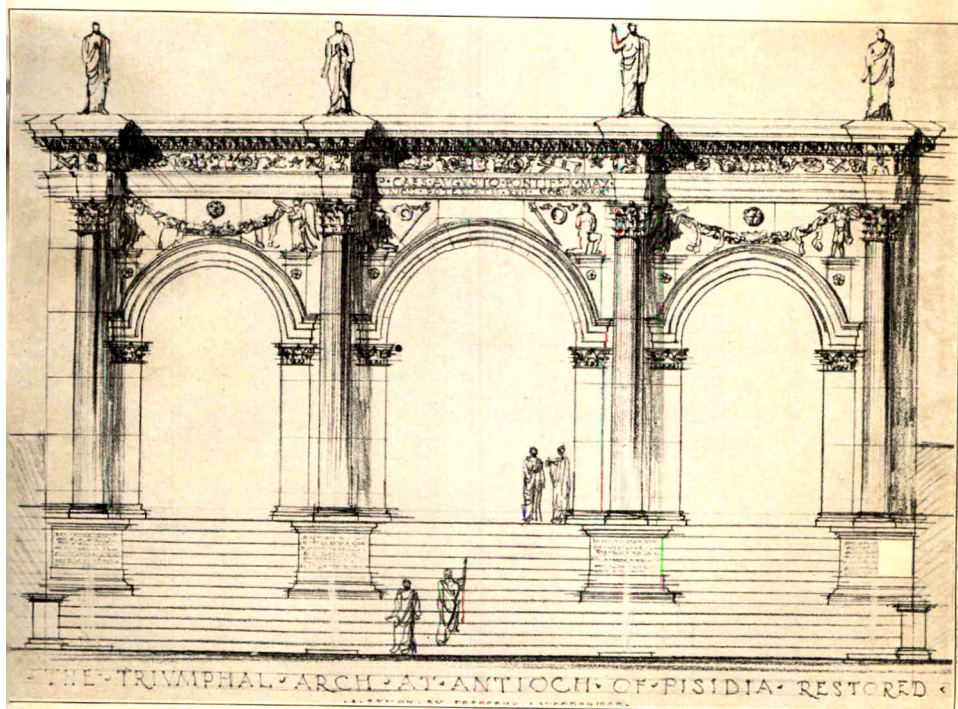


PLATE VII A—Miscellaneous Fragments.



\*LATE VII B—Tentative Restoration of Propylaea by F. J. Woodbridge, showing the inscribed pedestals. The last pedestal to the right or south was not inscribed on its southern half.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPERIAL DOMAINS OF AFRICA.

When the inscriptions of the imperial domains in Africa were discovered the origin of the Roman colonate was being widely discussed. Naturally the new documents were eagerly examined for any possible light on the historic problem, and frequently the comments, interpretations and even the restorations made at the time reveal a preoccupation with the larger question which produced biased judgments.<sup>1</sup> Then came the period of what might be called the Oriental interpretation, after Ramsay<sup>2</sup> had called attention to the royal domains of Asia, and Paul Meyer had brought the Ptolemaic papyri into the discussion. Schulten,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is a pity that the latest inscription (of the Saltus Burundicanus, near Souk-el-Ehmis, C. I. L. VIII, 10570) was found first. Mommsen in a brilliant essay upon that inscription, *Hermes*, 1880, 385 ff., began the discussion of the later colonate. Esmein, *Jour. Sav.* 1880, 686; Fustel de Coulanges, *Le Colonnat romain*, 1884; Schulten, *Die römischen Grundherrschaften*, 1896, are useful studies.

Later were found the more important inscriptions of Henchir Mettich (C. I. L. VIII, 25902) and the similar ones of Aïn Ouassel (26416) and Aïn el Djemala (25943). It is difficult to over-value the splendid work of restoration devoted to these inscriptions by Toutain, *Mém. Acad. Inscr.* 1897, 31 ff.; Schulten, *Rhein. Mus.* 1901, 120 ff.; Rostovtzeff, *Stud. zur Gesch. Kol.* 320 ff., and Carcopino, *Mélanges de Rome*, 1906, 365 ff., and *Klio*, 1908, 154 ff. For the full bibliography see the Corpus, Girard, *Textes*,<sup>4</sup> pp. 199, 870, 874, 876; and Bruns, *Fontes*,<sup>5</sup> p. 259, 295, 300, 302.

<sup>2</sup> Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1895, 280; Meyer, *Philologus*, 1897, 201.

<sup>3</sup> Schulten's suggestions of Eastern influence are never forced: see *Röm. Grundherrschaft*; and *Klio* 1907, 138. Mitteis, *Aus den griech. Papyrusurkunden*, 1900, goes farther. Rostovtzeff, *Der Ursprung des Kolonats*, *Klio*, 1901, 295, first emphasized the importance of Asiatic parallels, but later in his *Stud. zur Gesch. des Kol.* 1911, abandoning this hypothesis gives more attention to Ptolemaic laws. Even if we are compelled to reject his fundamental theory and his conclusions for Africa we can still rely upon his acute analyses of the Ptolemaic laws in the first chapter, and some of his reconstructions of late economic history in the last brilliant pages of the book. Carcopino, in his excellent analysis of *La Loi de Hiérax*, 1914, also draws parallels between Africa, Sicily and Egypt, but with much moderation.

Mitteis, Carcopino, and especially Rostovtzeff (in a series of articles, and finally in his very remarkable book on the Roman Colonate) tried to explain various customs mentioned in the African inscriptions with reference to Oriental and Ptolemaic practices. The gain in general information about provincial conditions has justified the labor and acumen applied, but the African inscriptions have themselves been brought out of their natural setting in the process. It is my opinion that if we had avoided enticing parallels and had patiently studied these inscriptions in connection with local conditions we might now have a truer conception of the history of Rome's colonization of Africa than we have. We should find that the influences of Eastern customs was exceedingly slight and that the customs in question are so dependent upon local conditions that inferences from them as to the origin of the later colonate are quite premature. The purpose of the present study is to examine the history and the climatic and economic peculiarities of the region in which the inscriptions were found and to suggest in how far these peculiarities explain the conditions pictured in the inscriptions without reference to putative models, parallels, or sequels.

An adequate map of the province of Africa is not available, but we can work with the one found at the end of the Corpus, vol. VIII, part 2, if we supplement it for details with the folios of the *Atlas Archéologique de la Tunisie* (cf. folios 19, 20, 27, 28, 35).

The region of the Imperial Domains under discussion lies between, and including, Vaga and Thugga (north-south), between Tichilla (*Testour*) and Souk-el-Khmis<sup>4</sup> (east-west). This region was apparently not a part of the original province of 146 B. C., as is usually assumed, but was to a large extent given in quiritary possession to Marius' soldiers in 100 B. C. in individual assignments of 100 jugera lots, and at that time the province seems to have been enlarged to include this area. These circumstances give the region a peculiar history as we shall see, separating it in many ways from the rest of the province.

The region in question is not large, covering only about

<sup>4</sup> The Saltus Burunitanus probably lay somewhat further east than the map of the *Atlas* indicates.

25 x 30 Roman miles,<sup>5</sup> and it lies about fifty miles west of Carthage, north and south of the middle Bagradas river. The first of the inscriptions to be found was that of the *Saltus Burunitanus* (C. I. L. VIII 10570) which came to light three km. north of Souk-el-Khmis near the foothills of the rough mountain region where lay the *Saltus*. Since the first few lines of the imperial letter are repeated on a fragment (VIII, 14451) found in the mountains of Ain Zaga to the north of this point and since *Bulla Regia* lay outside of the region we seem to have the northwest corner of the district here. For what seems to be the northeast corner we have the fragment (VIII, 14428) found in the hill-country of Gasr Mezuar a few miles northeast of Vaga. South of the Bagradas river the inscription of Hr. Mettich (25902) came to light 5 km. north of Thignica, that of Ain el Djemala (25943) 6 km. southwest of the same town, and that of Ain Ouassel (26416) 10 km. west of Thugga, all in rough, hilly country. The domains mentioned by the last two inscriptions and one other (*Saltus Neronianus*, *Lamianus*, *Domitianus*, *Blandianus*, *Udensis*, *Tuzritanus* and *Thibaritanus*) have been located with a fair degree of probability by Carcopino<sup>6</sup> in the region that lies between Hr. Mettich and Ain Ouassel. There were, to be sure, other imperial domains in Africa,<sup>7</sup> known by name alone, but since the region in question has a peculiar history it is a reasonable procedure to interpret the documents found there as in the first instance applicable to local conditions.

In the first place we must know when and how the region was organized and settled by the Romans. Till recently it was supposed that this area became a part of the proconsular province in 146 B. C. when Carthage was destroyed, and that it fared as the rest of the province, being subject to the Roman confiscations of 146 and to the settlements prescribed by the agrarian law of 111 B. C. If this were true we should have to suppose, as is

<sup>5</sup> We know nothing as yet about the mountainous district between Thabraca and Vaga, that is the north coast-land. Marius may have included this region in the province while leaving most of it in the hands of stipendiary Libyans. This region is hardly habitable.

<sup>6</sup> *Mélanges*, 1906, 427, with a map.

<sup>7</sup> See Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, 556 ff.



generally assumed, that the region had fallen into the same state of neglect for a hundred years as did the rest, that it became stipendiary or decuman land,<sup>8</sup> and that the domains of Romans which the imperial saltus absorbed had grown up on such tracts. This proves to be very far from true.

Let us first try to discover when the Romans gained possession, for it is now well known that the "fossa regia" drawn by Masinissa and Scipio Aemilianus in 146 lay east of this region, and that the old line assumed by Mommsen and Wilmanns passing south from Thabraca near Bulla Regia was incorrect. Toutain (*Les Cités Romaines*, p. 19) and Gsell (*Histoire Anc. de l'Afrique du Nord*, III, 327 f.) basing their opinion on Tissot and recent discoveries lop off at least a third of the old province without going quite far enough. The northern terminus of the *fossa* Gsell places at Thabraca on the river Tusca on the testimony of Pliny V, 23. This is late testimony for the boundary of 146 B. C.; we shall return to the question presently. Vaga was certainly some distance inside Numidia when Metellus attacked Jugurtha in 109 for he marched on Numidian territory for some time before taking it (Sall. *Jug.* 47). Furthermore the boundary stones now known south of the Bagradas river are about 25 km. east of Vaga.<sup>9</sup> The first definitely known point of the old fossa is a few miles south of Tichilla where three cippi of Vespasian<sup>10</sup> mark the direction of the old fossa. These cippi are found about 12 km. east of the point where the Aïn el Djemala inscription was discovered by Carcopino.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See the law of 111 B. C., II. 79-95, and Hardy's edition, note 46.

<sup>9</sup> Note too that the saltus mentioned at Gasr Mezuar was northeast of Vaga.

<sup>10</sup> See *C. I. L.* 25860; 25967 and note, and *Rev. Arch.* 1912, p. 456; also *Atlas Arch.* folio, *Teboursouk*, points 81, 98, 229. The boundary was not here in Vespasian's day since Caligula had moved it to Hippo-Calama; but since the land of the saltus region had originated as private property while that of the original province was largely stipendiary, vectigal, and decuman, the ex-publican emperor had good reason to mark the old line anew. When Pliny, *N. H.* V, 25, calls the "fossa" the boundary between the provinces he is, of course, using a source that antedates Caligula.

<sup>11</sup> Recently a Libyan inscription from a temple erected in honor of

Continuing from these stones the line must have turned due east very soon, for another mark (C. I. L. 23084) was found at Abthungi south of and near the conspicuous mountain of Zaghouan. This village is only 28 miles from the eastern sea-coast. From there the line ran apparently in a direct course to Thenae (Pl. *N. H.* V, 25). That it hardly bends inland is proved by the fact that in 46 B. C. Considius had to cross Numidian territory in marching around the west shore of lake Sidi-el-Hani.<sup>12</sup>

Now, going back to the northern terminus, we can hardly accept Thabraca as the original point for 146 B. C. when we find the line well east of Vaga, and crossing the Bagradas near Tichilla. This region is very mountainous and has never had many inhabitants. It is inconceivable that Scipio should have asked for that when he rejected so much of the Bagradas valley. As we shall see, the Saltus region was apparently added to the province by Marius, and it was then that Thabraca became the northern terminal of a new line which ran southward from the Tusca river, east of Bulla Regia, south of Thugga to join the old line a few miles southeast of Thugga.

These restricted boundaries drawn by Scipio are one of the surprises of Roman history. When we find that south of Zaghouan the province contained very little except the territory of the free towns of Hadrumetum, Tampsus, Leptis and Aquilla, and that north of this point there were the lands of Utica and Uzalis, we discover that within the original province there was less than 3000 square miles of ground to dispose of and nearly half of this was unarable. Those who find imperialism and land hunger in the senatorial policies of that time will find difficulty in explaining such facts.

Our immediate concern is, however, with the area of the domains, which, as we have found, was still outside of the province as shaped by Scipio in 143. That the country had long been settled by a vigorous stock of Libyans is proved by the many striking dolmens still to be seen there. More than a cen-

Masinissa has been found at Thugga. Its date is about 139 B. C. This is, of course, decisive evidence that Thugga lay in non-Roman territory at that time. See Lidzbarski, in *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.* 1913, p. 296.

<sup>12</sup> *Cæs. Bell. Afr.* 43.

tury before the fall of Carthage, Hanno, who represented the landholding nobility as opposed to the commercial-industrial imperialists led by the Barcids, was sent to subdue the Libyan tribes as far west as Theveste (Polyb. I, 72). During the Second Punic War, Carthage was master of the Bagradas area at least as far as Calama, and her position was not disturbed by the Roman treaty of 202. During their century of domination the Carthaginians must have penetrated very effectively, since many Punic graves and inscriptions are found in the mountain villages on both sides of the upper Bagradas and since, on the testimony of Apuleius, the Punic language was still spoken by the lower classes at Madauros late into the empire. The country was prosperous also: according to Appian (*Lib.* 68) Masinissa found fifty villages to add to his conquests in the neighborhood of Thugga, and Sallust's account of the Jugurthine war pictures a very prosperous region between Vaga and Sicca. We may well believe that the Punic landlords had grubbed the gorse from many of the hills and brought in additional tribes of Libyans to tend their crops and orchards. Whatever they may have done elsewhere, the Punic masters did not need to rely upon slave-culture in this tract.

In his old age Masinissa grew ambitious for an extensive empire, and relying upon the friendship of the Romans invaded this newly developed region, claiming that the people belonged to his ancestral tribes. Carthage counterattacked but was defeated and had to answer to Rome for making war without permission. She fell and the region in question was left in the dominion of Numidia.<sup>13</sup> Rome kept only what had been in the possession of Carthage at the very end (Sall. *Jug.* 19, 7), the region east of the "fossa regia." Now the sons of the recently deceased Masinissa held the territory and doubtless continued their father's policy (Pcl. 37, 3) of advancing agriculture, while packs of wolves were running over the abandoned territory of Carthage. At any rate eastern Numidia is constantly described as a well-populated and prosperous country in the *Jugurthine War*. Metellus found an abundance of supplies here in 109 (Sall. *Jug.* 46, 7). Later he took captive a large number of the

<sup>13</sup> See the inscription on Masinissa's temple at Thugga, *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.* 1913, p. 296.

natives. In 107 Marius again invaded Numidia by way of the Bagradas valley *in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum* (Sall. 87), which he raided. We may well believe that during these three years the native males of military age were fairly well disposed of. In changing the basis of recruiting at Rome Marius had promised lands to those who enrolled in his army. He was now looking for lands with which to keep his promise, and the raids were probably conducted with that in view. Since the best of the Carthaginian fields had now been settled by Gracchan colonists and by purchasers invited by the regulations of 115 and 111 B. C., this was the best that Africa now had to offer. And it is here that the Marian colonists were finally sent when the Cimbric war was over and the soldiers could finally get their reward.

Since the direct evidence for this colonization has not convinced all historians it will be necessary to indicate inscriptional support which has been disregarded. The only literary reference is that of *De Viris Illust.* (73), which in itself would not be completely convincing. It reads: (Saturninus) *ut gratiam Marianorum militum pararet, legem tulit ut veteranis centena agri jugera in Africa dividerentur*. The uncertainty lies in the fact that Cicero once speaks of Saturninus' legislation as annulled by the senate (*De Leg.* II. 14). It is not clear whether Cicero's phrase is all-inclusive, and at any rate the senate's vote would not necessarily be final, or it might now as in 122 have revoked the colonial foundation without recalling the colonists. In confirmation of *De Viris Illustr.* we have the fact that Uchi Maius<sup>14</sup> and Thibaris<sup>15</sup> near Thugga, both adopted the honorary title of *Mariana* when raised to municipal dignity in the empire. These titles raise a strong presumption that they attributed their origin to Marian colonization.

The domanial inscriptions contain phrases which are pertinent to the argument. According to the text of Hr. Mettich Trajan gave the privilege of tilling the land called *subcesiva*, and Hadrian extended the privilege (according to the two neighboring texts) to unfarmed lands inside the *centuriis elo-*

<sup>14</sup> C. I. L. VIII, 26270, 75, 83. This fact was noticed long ago.

<sup>15</sup> C. I. L. VIII, p. 2590.

*catis*. These are terms of the surveyors of colonial commissions who lay out lots for distribution over the arable portions, leaving the unarable unassigned. This surveying did not belong to the Gracchan period since this region was not then provincial, and it does not belong to Cæsar's day for he left this region undisturbed. Here again we have evidence of Marius' colony, and this brings us into the very center of the tract where lay the saltus Udensis and Blandianus between Aïn Ouassel and Aïn el Djemala.

There is furthermore the fact that in a number of the towns of this region inscriptions reveal a peculiar double organization of a *civitas* and a *pagus*, in which the *pagani* are Roman citizens and the *pagus* of greater dignity than the town. If we can suppose a viritate settlement of Roman citizens this is easily comprehended, not otherwise. We see this double organization best in the inscriptions of Thugga<sup>16</sup> where both the *pagus* and the *civitas* had full government organs, both had patrons, both had the *jus legatorum*, and the individuals of both parts were interested in advancing the town. The two parts often act independently, but not infrequently join in building temples and in honoring the emperors with laudatory epigrams. The

<sup>16</sup> Dessau gives the main facts about these *pagi* in C. I. L. VIII, p. 2615. The misunderstanding of them has been due to confusion with other *pagi* elsewhere. (a) Near the Gracchan colony the natives were organized in *pagi*, as in Cisalpine Gaul. Cf. the recent inscription at Utica dating about 57 B. C. in which three *pagi* of stipendiaries express gratitude to the Roman quaestor, C. R. Ac. 1913, 106. (b) A totally different group of *pagi* is found in Augustus' settlement of veterans on land which he apparently bought in 14 B. C. These *pagi* are named after divinities: *Mercurialis* and *Fortunalis* near Uthina, *Minervius* near Bizerta, and, probably of the same type, *Veneriensis* at Sicca. The *pagi* of the Marian region differ from these two types in that they are townships of citizens near Libyan towns, but while bearing the name of the town, they are the more important element and finally absorb the town. They are probably modelled on old Italic *pagi* or on the Campanian townships settled viritum after 211 B. C. Discussions which are helpful but have somewhat confused these three types are found in Kornemann, *Philol.* 1901, 402 ff., Barthel, *Gesch. Röm. Städte in Africa*, 1904, Merlin and Poinssot, *Notes et Documents*, 1908; Schulten's theory (*Arch. Anz.* 1912, 393) that the *pagi* of the Thugga region are Augustan military settlements is impossible.

strange thing is that the *pagus* is the more distinguished part so that in united action the formula always reads *pagus et civitas*. It is quite clear that the *civitas* of natives, which had been an important Libyan center, continued to thrive, that it retained some of its territory (cf. 25988); that even Roman traders settled there, and that besides this there was an even more important group of Roman citizens organized by *pagus*. These allotments did not belong to the Gracchan time, since this was then Numidia, nor to Caesar's or Augustus' colonies, since the latter were compact colonies of the regular type. We clearly have to do with the Marian assignments.<sup>17</sup>

At Uchi Majus the evidence for two groups is not full, though the *pagus* with its *magistri* is frequently spoken of. But there is one interesting record of a division which reads *castellum divisit inter colonos et Uchitcnos terminque constituit* (26274) which is most easily explained as evidence of a separation between the Marians and the native townsmen. It will be remembered that Uchi claimed Marian descent when it finally received colonial dignity. Thignica, in whose vicinity was found the inscription of Aïn el Djemala, was a city of natives where the worship of the Punic Saturn (Baal Ammon) continued long into the empire (C. I. L. VIII, p. 1451). It was naturally called a *civitas* but the picturesque formula *utraque pars civitatis* reveals a division here also. Finally three smaller towns within this same region reveal the same combination as Thugga. Agbia, 4 km. south of Thugga, has a record of *decuriones pagi et civitatis* (VIII, no. 1548). The groups were later united in a *municipium* (27415). Numluli, which lay in the hills in the center of the whole complex, has a *pagus* as well as a *civitas*, and *decuriones utriusque ordinis* (26121, 26125) before it be-

<sup>17</sup> In Africa the word *civitas* was used in the restricted sense for any native tribe or any portion of a tribe that had its own organization. And since the tribes of western Numidia had been segregating into separate villages under the influence of the Carthaginian domination, it is natural that in many cases the "*civitates*" are little else than village groups, and being village groups they begin under Roman rule gradually to include Romans who settle to trade there, until in time the Romans predominate in the aggregate. Nevertheless the *pagus* and the *civitas* usually continue to have separate organizations until combined by some imperial grant of municipal or "colonial" dignity.

came a municipality; and *Avenensis*, near Souk-el-Khmis, is spoken of as *pagus et civitas* (26157).

To this evidence of a peculiar administration in this area should be added the fact that the Roman citizens within it seem all to belong to the same tribus, the *Arnensis*. This is the ward of Uchi and Thibaris (the two towns that claim Marian origin), of Thugga, Thignica, Agbia and Numluli (four of the places that show a double organization), and also of Thubursicum Bure and Thimida Bure (both near Ain Ouassel), of Vaga, and several of the smaller places of the region.<sup>18</sup> In fact we know no town within this district that belonged to a different tribus.

There can be little doubt left that the land-law of Saturninus went into effect and that many of Marius' veterans who had campaigned in this region and seen its prosperity had returned to accept lands here. Ever if only two legions responded to the invitation, 600,000 jugera would be required for them, and since many native villages were left, and since large tracts are hopelessly rough there would be over a million jugera to account for. The area that lies between Vaga and Thugga would, therefore, not more than suffice for two legions, but we may reasonably assume several thousand colonists. It is not surprising that Marius attempted to seek refuge in Africa when proscribed by Sulla, and that Sulla's general, Pompey, found a strong Marian army in the province later.

It is very likely that the whole region was annexed to the province at once by the agrarian law of Saturninus, for the Roman citizens would desire the protection of the provincial government and access to the propraetor's court. Hence "Aurelius Victor" could correctly say that the lots were assigned in "Africa." Just where the new boundary was drawn we do not know, except that it began at Thabraca, excluded

<sup>18</sup> Since this is the *tribus* of Carthage it is likely that Gracchus had assigned it there first and that Marius added his colonists to the same group. Thabraca has the same ward. Perhaps Marius intended to make that place the port town of his colony. That the *Arnensis* did not extend all the way from Carthage is proved by the fact that intermediate towns have the *Papiria* (Vallis and Tuccabor) and the *Quirina* (Thuburbo Minus). Beyond our region, Bulla Regia and Sicca are registered in the *Quirina*.

Bulla Regia, and ran south of Thugga, excluding Sicca and Zama Regia, which were in Numidian territory in 46 B. C. We have seen that Vespasian's re-marking of the previous line had nothing to do with provincial boundaries of his day. He probably set his cippi there to mark off an area of peculiar economic privileges.

In that economic difference lies one of the most important factors in the creation of vast estates here, for here was a large complex of farms, orchards and grazing lands which had been given and was held *jure Quiritium*. Whereas in Spain, Asia, Sicily and much of the rest of Africa, Roman citizens who acquired estates had to pay the stipends and dues that attached to provincial land, there was here a large tract that was not subject to any of those dues. Is it surprising that this area seemed desirable to Roman investors?

We may then attempt to sketch the story of this region briefly thus. The area, though not at present the most desirable in Africa, had been developed to its fullest capacity by the Punic landlords employing Numidian labor. The rainfall is better than in most parts of the province, the lands were far from exhausted and they had remained unscathed by the damage and neglect that for so long fell to the lot of Carthaginian lands after 146. Marius distributed the land in unusually large lots of one hundred jugera, so that the colonists began as large farmers. No one man can cultivate more than ten or fifteen jugera of farm land with the tools or intensive methods used by the Romans. Much extra labor would be needed. For this purpose Marius left a large number of Libyan villages, particularly of the Burenses, inside the complex, as a reference to the Atlas Archéologique will prove. Some at least had lands attached, doubtless subject to a stipend. Probably many of the villagers were at once invited to accept tenancies, for the Numidian likes his independence; others would hire out as laborers. There is no reason to suppose that much slave labor was introduced since natives who knew the soil, the climate, and the crops were available. The many native villages would hardly have prospered as they did if slave culture had been introduced extensively, and that many of them prospered is more than apparent from the inscriptions of Thugga, Thubursicum Bure, and Thignica.



But we may also assume that concentration of holdings began very soon. Some of Marius' soldiers were of the urban proletariat who knew nothing about agriculture and would have little patience with isolated farm life. If in eighteen years the colonial lots of Sulla at Praeneste aggregated into the hands of a few owners as Cicero says (*De Leg. Agr.* II, 78), we may well imagine what happened on the Bagradas. A few, presumably, prospered and bought out their neighbors, some sank into the position of tenants. Many doubtless sold out and returned to Rome to spend the cash; others may have drifted into their customary trading in the villages and in Utica. In the early Empire, the great landlords were of course citizens, the tenants were largely Libyans, but some were Romans.

Julius Cæsar, who colonized Carthage and changed the provincial line,<sup>19</sup> left the district quite undisturbed. This may be due to his usual deference to Marian institutions, but it may also be because all good land had already been occupied here, and the native villages were needed by the Roman citizens in the very condition in which they were. In the peaceful days of Augustus when much grain was imported to Italy from Africa the concentration went on apace. It is probably here that Frontinus found the private estates as extensive as some tribal territories, estates which had whole villages of natives within and about (*De Controv.*, p. 45 Th.). The description fits the Marian region excellently. And Hirschfeld and Carcopino<sup>20</sup> are doubtless right in referring to this region the tiresome platitude of Pliny (18, 35) regarding the six landlords who owned the half of Africa before Nero murdered them and confiscated their estates. Of lands available for Roman purchase in Africa this district probably constituted very nearly a half. If Nero had been like Vespasian in any respect, one might hazard the conjecture that the purpose in the confiscation was to draw into the treasury the one large area of provincial land which paid nothing to the

<sup>19</sup> It is probable that Cæsar, in shaping the new province of Numidia, allotted this district to the latter since Pliny, who follows Agrippa's survey, speaks of the "fossa" as the dividing line. After 37 A. D. the fossa was no longer a boundary.

<sup>20</sup> See *Mélanges* 1906, p. 434 f.

support of the state. Very likely the treasury department had reminded him of the pertinent fact.<sup>21</sup>

The data we have gathered are not as explicit as we should desire, but we know enough to justify the conclusion that the region had a peculiar history which goes far to explain the existence of the remarkable group of domains within, and to warn against any assumption that the conditions found on these domains are characteristic of the rest of Africa or the rest of the Roman empire. There is nothing here to justify elaborate theories about a putative slave economy of the republic giving away to a new tenantry during the empire, about the introduction of foreign ideas of extra-territoriality, of Egyptian and Syrian systems of land administration, and all the rest. These plantations grew up naturally out of the local conditions, and tell their own simple story and little else.

In order to lay a broader basis for a safe interpretation of the inscriptions found here it is also desirable to see in how far the economic conditions of the place due to soil, climate, and crops correspond with those of other regions of Africa, for some of the problems presented by the inscriptions can be solved only by such an examination. There are several excellent books upon this subject which will help the traveller in Africa to observe conditions. Rivière and Lecq, *Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le nord de l'Afrique* 1914, Tourniéroux, *L'oléiculture en Tunisie* (Tunis, 1922), the last *Rapport* of the Tunisian government *Sur la situation de la Tunisie* (Tunis, 1924), Gauckler, *Enquête sur les Installations Hydrauliques Romaines en Tunisie* 1897-1902, and the *Atlas Archéologique de la Tunisie* are in fact better guides to the comprehension of the ancient African inscriptions than are Ptolemaic revenue laws. Tunis is very far from being a unit, and the agricultural region may be divided into many very distinct groups. The region of the domains is very hilly and only small parts of it are now under cultivation.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to find that at least three large private estates survived in the district, the Praedia Pullaeonorum near Aïn Ouassel and the estates of Rufus Volusianus and of Tigius near Teboursouk; see *Atlas Arch.*

<sup>22</sup> The physiography of this region is well described in Monchicourt, *La Région du Haut Tell en Tunisie*, 1913, p. 110.

Most of it is covered with thickets of gorse, myrtle, juniper, asphodel, and all kinds of briars. Here and there the Arabs grub the hillsides to sow small patches of wheat or to plant a few olive trees, but except for the narrow valleys most of it is now given over to pasture for sheep, goats, and a few camels and puny horses. At the very place where Carcopino found the famous text of Aïn el Djemala a fox crossed the road as I passed. Carcopino has reproduced a photograph (*Mélanges* 1906, opp. p. 398) which gives a characteristic scene of the region. The hills rise almost a thousand feet within a mile of the place; and in general the whole region is a continuous undulation rising and falling between 500 and 1500 feet above sea level. It is of course quite misleading to speak of this country as being a part of "the fertile Bagradas valley," and to suggest that the inscriptions may refer to the work of irrigation as in Egypt. How would one irrigate such land? However, it was far more fertile when Marius took it, for it had then been recently reclaimed by the best methods of Punic agriculture. The woods and briars had been cleared for the first time, so that there was still a thick layer of rich humus to cultivate. Careful terracing and gullying probably saved the land from erosion for many generations. The rainfall is not over-abundant, but though the summers are dry it averages about 50 cm. per annum, and this is enough for wheat which starts and matures early here. The earlier inscriptions seem to have reference especially to wheat growing, while the later ones refer constantly to the planting of olives, figs and vines. This change had its natural causes. Such steep hillsides would in time erode despite the best efforts at terracing, and the only salvation would lie in turning to horticulture. The change does not betoken unscientific farming, or unreasonable exploitation on the part of the Roman state, or a change of imperial policy, or the introduction of eastern ideas. And when we hear of abandoned land it does not mean that the tenant is being oppressed. It probably means only that some sanguine farmer has tried to raise wheat on land better suited to pasture or to horticulture and has seen his mistake. Even now after centuries of rest wheat will not come back to the steeper hillsides because there is not enough soil on the rocks. Olives and figs and vines doubtless will, if ever the tariffs of France, Italy, and America are lowered to the point

where a favorable market can be found to justify the costs of reclamation.

In view of the tendency to draw inferences for the whole of Africa from the inscriptions found here it will be well to make some comparisons. (1) The flat alluvial region of the lower Bagradas, the original domain of Carthage, is far better grain-land because it does not suffer from erosion. However, the rainfall is less abundant here, averaging only 40 cm. per year, so that the wheat crop occasionally fails. The chief difficulty here is that the summer is so dry that there is little opportunity to relieve the land by a rotation of crops. Clover, for instance, will not survive the summer. There is very little water available for irrigation. The only remedy against exhaustion so long as wheat was desired was to manure, or plow in winter vetch or resort to years of fallow—all expensive methods. The land had been lying half-fallow for twenty-five years when the Gracchan settlers came, and probably produced well for a long time. This is doubtless the land which in the late republic made the African province famous for wheat production. But the period of dangerous exhaustion cannot be put off indefinitely in a region where a long dry season limits the choice of crops. It is, therefore, not surprising that here too landowners began to give up wheat-raising and resorted to horticulture in the late Empire. And when once the owner has gone to the expense of planting olives or vines and has adapted his whole staff and stock to it, he cannot be readily induced by an occasional rise in the price of wheat to cut down his orchard and return to wheat culture. Hence it was that in so many places in Africa olives supplanted wheat during the Empire.

2). South of the plain there is a mountainous tract extending from Cape Bon to Zaghuan somewhat rougher than the Saltus region and less blessed with rain. In the valleys some important Roman estates grew up, but there never was an extensive Roman colonization here, and the region was never reckoned as of great value.

3). South of these mountains behind the coast of Hadrumetum (Sousse) there is a narrow, semi-arid region of slightly undulating country where the precipitation averages about 30 cm. per year. Not more than half the wheat crops reach maturity here, but when it happens that the rains are good in November

and April the yield is excellent; since the soil is saved from exhaustion by frequent droughts. Needless to say, farmers do not now sow large areas in grain and probably did not in Roman times. By employing a peculiar system of culture it is possible to get good results with olives. Since the region is undulating the planter leaves the knolls bare as a kind of impluvium on which to catch the late spring rains. The water is carefully directed by artificial channels to the roots of the olive trees, which are planted only on the lower ground. In this way the trees get enough water before May to carry the fruit to maturity. That the Romans used the very same method here is proved by the remains of numerous stone and cement channels and dykes.

4). Further south, near El Djem, where stood the large Roman city of Thysdras, the land is too flat for such methods, but here fortunately there is a level limestone stratum near the surface which in many places catches and holds the scanty rain-water long enough to save the olive trees through the summer. Only in rare places can wheat grow here.

5). Below El Djem, in the region of Sfax (Roman Taparura, a few miles from Therae) the rainfall is only about 20 cm. per annum, which under normal conditions would preclude any attempt at raising crops. Fifty years ago the region was in fact a desert except near the coast where subsoil moisture reached the roots of trees. Yet encouraged by the remains of Roman farm villas the Arabs experimented with fruit trees till the secret of success was discovered. Since the French occupation, large planters with capital have adopted the methods of the natives and have now extended the splendid olive orchards fifty miles inland in one uninterrupted garden. The method employed is to set the trees wide apart and constantly to harrow the ground, which is loose and sandy, so as to prevent evaporation by breaking the capillarity, to rake in the morning dew which is abundant near the sea and to destroy weeds which waste moisture. So far as this method can be employed the desert has here become an orchard as it was during the Empire.

6). Finally, it has recently been discovered that the region of Sbeitla (Sufetula) also, where several large Roman cities sprang up in the Empire, can be made productive again. This region lies a hundred miles southwest of Hadrumetum on a low plateau between mountain ranges. In 1900 it was still a moun-

tainous land of desiccated steppes to which the nomads resorted with their flocks only during the brief rainy season of mid-winter. The railway which now passes through to the phosphate region of Gafsa has brought in a few experimental agriculturalists who have faith that what Romans once did the French can do. It has been found that the clay and limestone strata carry some subsoil moisture from the hills, so that if young olive trees are watered by hand through a few summers their roots will penetrate into enough moisture to carry the annual crop to maturity. A few perennial springs in the region supplemented with winter rainwater stored in cisterns can be made to supply the immediate needs of a large population. It would be insane, however, to suppose that wheat had ever been raised here or at Sfax except in small house gardens watered from cisterns.

It must be apparent that the several regions of Tunis which we have mentioned differ very much from each other in climate, soil, and methods of cultivation. So far was the province of Africa from being adapted to methods in vogue in Italy, Egypt and Asia that itself was not a unit in any respect. The French are recognizing these differences and are applying special methods of settlement for the diverse regions as the Romans did. At Sfax, for instance, capitalists have been encouraged to buy the unoccupied land and to engage Arabs to plant and cultivate it on a system of emphyteusis. The contract provides support for the period of heavy expenses, calling for rental in kind at a postponed date. Since much extra labor is needed to harvest the olive crop the nomad shepherds are induced to come down earlier than before to gather it in. Near Sousse where some grain can grow between the trees which will support the planter through the year, small proprietors are found living in villages. In regions like Sbeitla and Enfida, where initial expenses are heavy and natives are not numerous, coöperative colonial enterprises are undertaken by Europeans. In the hilly regions near Sicca where the rains are fair but the labor of terracing is too tedious for Europeans, the natives are encouraged by advances of money and promises of roads and supplies of drinking water to accept permanent allotments on various plans of emphyteusis, the land to become their property (subject to tax) after ten years of cultivation and proofs of substantial planting. On the

richer soil near Tunis no inducements have to be offered since European farmers—Italians as well as French—have been eager to buy out Arabian farmers succeeding the natives through the use of better tools and a more intelligent comprehension of market needs.

Diversity of methods naturally leads to a diversity of social groupings now as in Roman days. The capitalists that own large tracts at Sfax are apt to live in Tunis or even in Paris. The responsible farmers live in the city of Sfax, partly because of the difficulty of getting drinking water out in the country, while the nomad laborers used at harvest time live in temporary shelters during their period of service. Near Sousse and near Thugga a simple village system of native farmers is in vogue; on some of the large estates near Tunis there is much subletting as well as employment of farm laborers, especially of Arabs and Italians. Tunis is and always has been a land of great diversity.

We have been assuming that climatic conditions are now practically what they were in Roman times, that the crops differ but little, that the Roman methods of agriculture are largely being used again and that accordingly social groupings are coming to be similar to those of Roman times. When Mommsen and Wilmanns (who edited the first volume of the African inscriptions) travelled in Africa they found the south and southwest parts seemingly irrevocable deserts. Because of their descriptions, historians of Rome have generally inferred either that the climate has deteriorated or that the Romans employed systems of irrigation not now available. The elaborate French survey of the Roman water supply<sup>23</sup> of Tunis was undertaken partly to examine these theories in preparation for an intelligent reclamation of the country. This survey discovered few traces of irrigation. What it disclosed was an immense number of cisterns for catching and storing rainwater during the winter for drinking purposes,<sup>24</sup> moderate ones for individual farm houses, enormous ones for cities that did not have aqueducts leading

<sup>23</sup> See Gauckler, *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Such cisterns are still to be seen everywhere. Over the cistern there is generally a large earthen catch-basin, since the roofs of the houses would not suffice for the amount that must be stored through the long dry season.

from perennial springs. Very few of these cisterns could have supplied enough for gardens. Rivers were seldom dammed for irrigation since most of them run dry in summer.

As for the supposed change in climate which has been so recklessly assumed in recent books on "climatic pulses," there is no support for the theory in the French survey. The facts that the Romans depended on cisterns where the Arabs do now, that near Sousse olives had to be grown by use of the "impluvium" and *seguia* then as now, that the remains of olive presses and mills prove the same distribution of crops, these entirely preclude a theory of climatic change—and the facts in the case have been available for twenty-five years. Such facts are not controverted by a scrapbook reference found in Pliny's volumes of curiosities mentioning places in Africa<sup>25</sup> where one grain of wheat could produce 300 stalks. This may as well be set down as an advertising exhibit sent to lure investors. When the French first began to colonize Algiers they sent similar agricultural curiosities from well-watered gardens to the exposition at Paris.

This historical and geographic orientation is essential for the comprehension of the famous inscriptions. To neglect local conditions which created the situation pictured in them and then resort for an explanation to eastern parallels, which are in no respects apposite, is mere waste of effort. In the next number we shall attempt a commentary on the texts in question.

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<sup>25</sup> Rivière et Lecq, p. 86.



## A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MAHĀVĪRA AND GOŚĀLA.

The locus classicus for the relations between the Jina, Mahāvīra, and the leader of the Ājivikas, Gośāla, has always been the Bhagavatī Sūtra, Sarga XV.<sup>1</sup> Its account, however, is quite condensed, with many details omitted, and the whole question of the association of Vira with Gośāla, their final separation and later hostility has remained obscure.<sup>2</sup> It is of great interest, therefore, to find in Sargas III, IV, and VIII of Hemacandra's Mahāvīracaritra a detailed narrative of their association for almost seven years. It differs from the Bhagavatī on some points and supplements it on many; and, though its comparatively late date<sup>3</sup> keeps it from having the same weight as the Bhagavatī, it surely represents a substantial Jaina tradition. It is also very enlightening in regard to Gośāla's character from the Jaina point of view.

Hemacandra's account is as follows.<sup>4</sup> Gośāla was the son of a Mañkhya,<sup>5</sup> Mañkhali, and his wife, Bhadrā, who wandered over the earth carrying a picture as a means of livelihood. He was born in the cow-shed of a Brahman in the village Śaravaṇa. He also learned the 'mañkha art.' Naturally quarrelsome, disobedient and deceitful, he quarreled with his parents, took a picture, and went off by himself. He arrived in Nālandā, a suburb of Rājagṛha, at a time when Vira was there. This was during the second rainy season after Vira's initiation. Vira was occupying a weaver's house<sup>6</sup> and allowed Gośāla to occupy it also, 'like a jackal in the presence of a lion.' When Vira

<sup>1</sup> See App. I, Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, and App. I, Hoernle's ed. of the *Upāsakadaśāsūtra*.

<sup>2</sup> See Hoernle's article on the Ājivikas in the *E. R. E.*, I, p. 259 ff., for discussion of all references known up to that time.

<sup>3</sup> Twelfth century.

<sup>4</sup> Sarga III. 373 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The usual form of the word is 'mañkha.' See Hoernle, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Leumann, Rockhill's *L. B.*, p. 250, n. 2, seems to infer that the 'tantuvāyaśāla' was open to the public. Hemacandra says that Vira had obtained permission from the weaver to occupy the house, and Gośāla obtained permission from him.

broke his fast at the house of the merchant Vijaya, Gośāla observed that the gods rewarded Vijaya, and decided that Vira was no ordinary muni. So he decided to give up begging with his picture and to become a disciple of Vira. While Vira was absorbed in meditation, Gośāla announced to him his intention of becoming his disciple. Vira had taken a vow of silence and did not reply at all; but Gośāla attached himself to him and 'did not leave the Master's side, day or night.' After he had been in attendance two months, he thought to test Vira's wisdom, and asked him what he would receive as alms at the great festival of the rainy season. Vira himself did not answer, but the Vyantara Siddhārtha, who had formerly been Vira's cousin and had been appointed by Śakra to watch over him, replied for him. He told just what alms Gośāla would receive. Gośāla made every effort to avoid these, but, of course, it turned out that the alms he received were just as described. Because of this incident Gośāla evolved the doctrine of *niyati* (fate).<sup>7</sup>

In the meantime Vira had gone to Kollāka, and Gośāla could not learn where he had gone. After he had searched in vain in Nālandā, Gośāla shaved his head and adopted nudity. He had evidently worn clothing up to this time. According to Hemacandra, Vira himself had given up clothing a year after his initiation.<sup>8</sup> Gośāla went to Kollāka and found Vira. He admitted that he had formerly been unworthy of initiation because of his devotion to clothes, etc., but now he had given up this devotion and begged Vira to take him as a disciple. 'Be my guru for life. I can not endure a moment without you.' Vira knew that it was possible for him to be enlightened and so ac-

<sup>7</sup> Sarga III. 397.

<sup>8</sup> During the first year he wore half of a garment. He had given away the other half. His half slipped from his shoulders and he did not trouble to pick it up. Hemacandra's account does not support Hoernle's theory that Gośāla was the originator of the nudity-practice and may have influenced Vira to adopt it. Hoernle also says that the Jain scriptures say that Vira attached himself to the clothed community of Pārśva and adopted nudity about the time he met Gośāla, but he does not give the reference to the scriptures. No such statement is made in the Kalpa Sūtra nor in the Ācārāṅga Sūtra. The Jains themselves (Jaina Gazette, XXI. 125) have called attention to the incorrectness of the statement that Vira belonged to Pārśva's order.

cepted him as a disciple. Another slight incident that demonstrated Vira's omniscience soon confirmed Gośāla in his doctrine of *niyati*.<sup>9</sup>

Henceforth, Gośāla accompanied Vira in his wandering. Gośāla was perpetually in trouble with the villagers, because of his innate depravity. Several times, in the name of Vira he cursed persons who had offended him and had their houses burned by Vyantaras. On two occasions he was well beaten by village youths because he concealed his presence in empty houses they had chosen as trysting-places. He complained to Vira that he allowed him to be beaten, but the Vyantara Siddhārtha, answering for Vira, pointed out that his beatings were caused by his own conduct.

He also engaged in a controversy with followers of Pārśva-nātha, who were wearing clothes and carrying bowls, etc. (About six months after his initiation, Vira himself vowed to take food only in his hand.)<sup>10</sup> Gośāla enquired who they were, and they replied, 'We are Nirgranthas (free from possessions), disciples of Pārśva.' Gośāla ridiculed the idea that they were Nirgranthas when they had the granthas (possessions) of clothes, etc. 'Without interest in clothes, etc., indifferent to the body, such is my teacher of dharma; such are Nirgranthas.' They, 'not knowing the Lord of Jinas,' made a pertinent—and impertinent—retort, whereupon Gośāla uttered his usual curse, but it had no effect on them. He reported this to Vira, and Siddhārtha explained to him that they were really disciples of Pārśva and that his curse was powerless against them.

The next incident was the arrest of Vira and Gośāla, since

<sup>9</sup> Sarga III. 418.

<sup>10</sup> Sarga III. 76. The Kalpa Sūtra, as well as Hemacandra, also distinctly states that Vira 'accepted alms in the hollow of his hand' (S. B. E., XXII, p. 260). It puts the adoption of the practice at the same time as the adoption of nudity—thirteen months after initiation. Hoernle says (E. R. E. I, p. 265): 'Mahāvira permitted the possession of a bowl for the reception of the begged food. Gośāla denied the justice of this permission, because the ascetic could and should make use of his hand for that purpose (cf. J. S. I, p. 57, n. 2 and II, p. 267, n. 2).' In elaborating his theory that the Ajivikas and Digambaras are the same, Hoernle ignores the fact that, though the Śvetāmbaras have certainly always used bowls, Vira himself did not use one.

Vīra had as usual refused to answer any questions, because of his vow of silence. The guards bound Gośāla, threw him in a well, and drew him up and down like a jar. Two disciples of Pārśva heard of the incident and rescued them.

Vīra passed the fourth rainy season in Prsthacampā and then went to Kṛtamaṅgala. Here two wealthy pākhaṇḍins (heretics, i. e. Hindus) with all their families held a festival in their family temple where Vīra was engaged in kāyotsarga. Gośāla, as was his custom, angered the party by impertinent remarks, and was expelled from the temple. But it was a very cold night, and they soon relented and allowed him inside. As soon as he was warm, he made insulting remarks again, and was again expelled, and again allowed to enter. The same thing happened several times, until the young pākhaṇḍins were exasperated to the point of beating him. They were restrained by the older men, however, on the ground that he was perhaps an attendant of the devārya (Vīra). They told the young men to let him talk as he liked, and to play the musical instruments, if they could not endure to hear him!

In Śrāvastī, their next stop, Gośāla caused a group of houses to be burned by the Vyantaras, because of his anger with a woman who had given him human flesh as alms. At another place, Gośāla terrified village boys who were playing near a temple, and was beaten by their fathers. He reproached Vīra for allowing it, and the Vyantara Siddhārtha told him he deserved the beating, 'because of that nature of yours, which penetrates you, as a disease penetrates the body.' The same thing occurred in the next village and, when he repeated the offense after the boys' fathers had beaten him once, they decided it was the proper thing to beat the Master. Their evil intention was frustrated by the statue of Balarāma which stood up with its plow raised to strike them.

At their next stop, when Gośāla went for alms, he came under suspicion of being a thief and was beaten; whereupon he caused a pavilion to be burned. Then Gośāla and Vīra were arrested as thieves. When questioned, the Lord had remained silent as usual, and Gośāla 'remained silent from love of strife.' Vīra was recognized by a former retainer of King Siddhārtha, who obtained their release.

Vīra then went to the Mleccha country to destroy karma, for it was very difficult to find assistants in the destruction of karma in the Aryan country. Gośāla endured his share of discomfort from the treatment by the Mlecchas. After their return they passed the fifth rainy season at Bhaddila. Several incidents are related now to demonstrate Gośāla's greed when he received alms. There was another meeting with followers of Pārśva, whom Gośāla ridiculed. Next, Vīra and Gośāla were again seized and tortured as spies, and were again released through the intercession of followers of Pārśva. After their release Vīra started for Viśālī with Gośāla, but when they reached a point where the road divided, Gośāla announced to Vīra that he would accompany him no longer, because he looked on indifferently when he (Gośāla) was beaten, and because he (Gośāla) was in danger from the calamities (upasarga) that Vīra endured. 'Besides, the people beat me first, then you.' He also held a grudge against Vīra because he was indifferent to everything. 'Who would serve you who make no distinction between a stone and a jewel, a forest and a town, sunshine and a bower, fire and flood, one who wishes to kill and a servant? . . . Henceforth, I will not do it.' Vīra replies that he may do as he likes; that *he* will not change his conduct. So they separated. Vīra proceeded to Viśālī and Gośāla started alone to Rājagṛha. On the way, he passed through the great forest where there were five hundred thieves. Their lookout announced Gośāla's coming, but said he was nude and without possessions. The thieves, however, considered it arrogance on his part to enter the forest, and did not let him escape unpunished. After this bad beginning, Gośāla reflected that the gods had always averted calamities from Vīra, and he had profited from their protection. Whereupon he decided to find Vīra again. Nothing further is told of Gośāla's experiences during his separation from Vīra which lasted for six months. They met again at the beginning of the sixth rainy season, and Gośāla, 'delighted in his mind, daily served him as before.'

For the eight months between the sixth and seventh rainy seasons Gośāla and Vīra wandered in Magadha 'without calamity.' When they resumed their wandering after the seventh rainy season, Gośāla angered the people of two villages by his lewd conduct and was beaten. Some time later, he gratuit-

ously insulted a bride and groom whom he met on the road. Their attendants bound him and threw him in a bamboo thicket. He appealed to Vīra, but the Vyantara Siddhārtha again told him that it was his own fault. Through respect for the Lord, the men released him. There was a similar incident with the very next persons—some herdsmen—whom they met.

The eighth rainy season was passed in Rājagṛha, and then Vīra went again to the Mleccha country, accompanied by Gośāla, where he seems to have stayed through the ninth rainy season. It was after the ninth rainy season, as they were going from Siddhārtha to Kūrmagrāma, that the well-known incident of the sesame-shrub occurred.<sup>11</sup> Gośāla saw a stalk of sesame on the road, and asked Vīra whether it would perish or not. Vīra broke his silence, 'by the power of fate,' and replied that it would perish, and that later the seven flower-jīvas would become seven sesames in one pod. To prove his statement false, Gośāla dug up the stalk and threw it away. A clod of earth adhered to it and a shower of rain revived the stalk. A passing cow crushed it into the damp ground. It took root, new shoots appeared, and flowers began to grow. On the return journey from Kūrmagrāma to Siddhārtha, they saw the sesame-stalk again, and Gośāla pointed out that it had not perished as predicted. Vīra replied that it had. Gośāla tore open the pod and saw the seven sesames. He concluded that the same principle applied to all creatures, and this was the origin of his doctrine of reanimation.<sup>12</sup>

In the interval between the two conversations in regard to the sesame had occurred the incident which resulted in the final separation of Vīra and Gośāla. Gośāla had addressed insolent remarks to the Svāmin Vaiśikāyana. Exasperated at their repetition, the Svāmin finally lost patience and sent a hot-flash (tejoleśyā) against Gośāla. He ran to Vīra who sent forth a cold-flash that quenched the hot-flash and saved Gośāla. Gośāla enquired of Vīra how one acquired the power to make the hot-flash. Vīra explained that it was acquired by observing fasts of three days, and breaking them with only a handful of husked grain, and a handful of water. Persistence in this course for

<sup>11</sup> Sarga IV. 67.

<sup>12</sup> Sarga IV. 128.

six months would produce the power. Shortly after the conversation about the sesame, Gośāla left Vira and went to Śrāvastī to develop this psychic force. To test his power, he deliberately sought a quarrel with a slave-girl whom he successfully consumed with his hot-flash. Delighted with his success, he began to wander. His meeting with the six followers of Pārśva is mentioned immediately after this in the text, as if it happened very soon, though in the Bhagavatī it is put many years later. These six men renounced their vows and joined Gośāla. They were learned in the eight-fold mahānimitta doctrine<sup>13</sup> and explained it to him out of friendship. 'Friendship develops at once between men of the same character. Proud of his hot-flash and the eight-fold mahānimitta doctrine, he began to wander over the earth, saying, "I am a Jina."'<sup>14</sup>

We hear nothing further of Gośāla until near the end of Sarga VII, when he appears on the scene for a brief time, engaged in a dispute with Ādraka, a follower of Vira. Gośāla upheld his doctrine of niyati (destiny), and Ādraka maintained the superior power of puruṣa (manly action). Ādraka was, of course, victorious in the argument. This was apparently many years after Gośāla had left Vira, for not long after is recorded<sup>15</sup> the meeting in Śrāvastī between Vira and Gośāla, which was seventeen years after their separation. Gośāla was already there, stopping in the shop of a potter-woman, Hālāhalā. He had gained favor with the people. 'Destroying obstacles by tejoleśyā, having knowledge of the eight-fold nimitta doctrine, he entered into the minds of the people. The simple-minded people hearing his declaration, thinking, "He is an Arhat," constantly approached and worshipped him.' After Vira's arrival, he sent Gautama into the city for alms. He heard people saying, 'Gośāla, the Omniscient, the Arhat, is here.' Disturbed by this report, Gautama told Vira that all the people were calling Gośāla 'omniscient.' 'Is this possible or not?' Vira replied, 'The son of a Mañkha, Mañkhali, not a Jina, though thinking himself a Jina, Gośāla is a house of deceit. Initiated by me, he received instruction from me. He acknowledged

<sup>13</sup> See Rockhill, L. B., p. 249, n. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Sarga IV. 137.

<sup>15</sup> Sarga VIII. 354 ff.

wrong belief to me. He is not omniscient.' This was said in the presence of others, so the matter was discussed by the citizens. Gośāla heard the words of Vīra quoted and 'surrounded by Ājivikas, was filled with anger, like a black cobra.' Then Ānanda, a disciple of Vīra, entered the city for alms. Sitting in the house of Hālāhalā, Gośāla called Ānanda, and made threats against Vīra. 'Does he not know my tejoleśyā able to consume an enemy? I will make him and his followers a heap of ashes. I will save you alone.' And he illustrated with the story of the serpent that is in the Bhagavatī. Ānanda was so disturbed by these threats that he returned to Vīra without even waiting to obtain alms. 'This talk of Gośāla, "I will make him a heap of ashes," is it the talk of a crazy man, or is he really able to do this?' Vīra explained that Gośāla was really able to destroy any one except an Arhat. He could cause only discomfort to Arhats. Vīra gave instructions for his disciples not to annoy Gośāla, if he should come, but the warning was of no avail. Gośāla came to see Vīra and insolently denied that he was the son of Mañkhali, and his former disciple. He applied his theory of reanimation and claimed that he, a Rishi named Udāya, had entered Gośāla's body after he had died. Vīra refused to admit any such possibility, and Gośāla threatened him with destruction. Unable to endure his insolence, Sarvānabhūti reproached him for his denial of the Lord, and was instantly destroyed by Gośāla by his hot-flash. Elated over this proof of his power, Gośāla became even more insolent to Vīra and caused protests from another disciple whom he also destroyed. Finally, Gośāla directed his hot-flash against Vīra himself, but it made the pradakṣiṇā and rebounded against Gośāla. 'As if angered because he had used it for a crime, the tejoleśyā returned and forcibly entered the body of Gośāla.' Gośāla predicted that Vīra would die in six months from a bilious fever from the tejoleśyā, and Vīra made the counter prediction that he would wander as a Kevalin for sixteen years more, but that Gośāla would die from a bilious fever in seven days. Weak and burning, Gośāla returned to the potter-woman's house. There he drank liquor to soothe his burning. He covered his body with wet clay and rolled in water. He sang, danced, and made the añjali to the potter-woman. His talk was



disconnected and contradictory. One of his followers, Ayampula, came to enquire about a point that puzzled him, but when he saw Gośāla's condition he went away embarrassed. Gośāla's disciples then explained that these were the last song, dance, añjali, drink, anointing with clay, etc., and were a sign that Gośāla had attained nirvāṇa.<sup>16</sup> They persuaded Gośāla to put away the liquor, etc., to receive Ayampula, and to answer his question. Gośāla finally regained his senses and gave instructions that he should be buried with great honor as the twenty-fourth Arhat. On the seventh day he repented, summoned his disciples, and made a recantation. He reversed his funeral instructions, and ordered that he be buried with dishonor and with public proclamation of the facts. After his death, his disciples shut the doors, drew a map of Śrāvastī and used that for carrying out his instructions for a dishonorable burial. Then they held a very elaborate public funeral.

Notwithstanding his depravity narrated in such detail, Gośāla went to Acyuta (the twelfth heaven), because he had confessed.

In reply to Gautama's questions Vira narrated Gośāla's past and future incarnations, but these are not relevant here.

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<sup>16</sup> These 'finalities' were incorporated into the Ajīvika doctrine.

DID CAXTON TRANSLATE THE *DE CONSOLATIONE*  
*PHILOSOPHIAE* OF BOETHIUS?

In the *Times Literary Supplement* (London, November 5, 1925) I find an article under 'Notes on Sales' entitled 'An Unrecorded Caxton,' which begins as follows: 'The discovery, or rather recovery, of an unrecorded copy of Caxton's "*De Consolacione Philosophie*," circa 1478, in the cellar of a house near Colchester, etc.' This is somewhat misleading, and it is only when we have read nearly half-way through the article that we find the sentence that sets us straight, provided that we do not overlook the little phrase, 'Eng. by Chaucer.' 'A hand-list of the books in the library [The Colchester Public Library] was printed in 1856, and is interesting as showing not only what it contained, but what books were then missing from its shelves. The "*Boethius de Consolatione*, Eng. by Chaucer, fo." almost certainly refers to the Caxton above mentioned.'

The last sentence is important because of the erroneous belief held in certain quarters that Caxton himself was a translator of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Did Caxton translate this work of Boethius? Dr. Bernard L. Jefferson in the Preface<sup>1</sup> to his *Chaucer and the Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius* (Princeton dissertation, 1917) asserts:

Throughout the Middle Ages this was his [Boethius'] most popular work, and it was translated into almost every European language. Its translators in English, besides Chaucer, include King Alfred, Caxton, and Queen Elisabeth.

Dr. Jefferson's unequivocal statement that Caxton is one of the English translators of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* led me to make a search for the probable source of his error. I surmise that it lies in the ambiguous words of Richard Morris in his edition of *Chaucer's Translation of Boethius' 'De Consolatione Philosophiae'* (London, 1868), page 1:

For, indeed, the echoes of Boethius, Boethius, rang out loud from

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<sup>1</sup> See page iv.

every corner of European literature. An Alfred awoke them in England, a Chaucer, a Caxton would not let them die; an Elizabeth revived them among the glorious music of her reign.<sup>2</sup>

Morris may have known that Caxton did not translate *De Consolatione Philosophiae*—that he simply printed Chaucer's translation; but when we consider the note in which he names such other translators as were known to him, it would appear that he thought of Caxton also as a translator.

Yet Caroline Pemberton, editor of *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings* (London, 1899), offers another possible source for Dr. Jefferson's error. In the Forewords, page xii, of her work, Miss Pemberton says:

The *Consolation of Philosophy* was a very favorite book during the Middle Ages, it being read not only in Latin but also in various translations. It was first done into English by King Alfred, and he was followed by Chaucer, Caxton, Queen Elizabeth, and many other translators of minor note.

It is not easy to account for these errors. If the *Consolation* as printed by Caxton is rare,<sup>3</sup> it has received notice enough to inform us of its nature. As early as December, 1849 (18 years before Morris edited his version of Chaucer's translation), I find in *Notes and Queries* 1. 126 an article quoting Thorpe's interesting description of the work:<sup>4</sup>

3450. Boecius de Consolatione Philosophie. Translated out of Latyn into English by Maister Geffrey Chaucer, with Epitaph for Chaucer in Latin Verse by Stephen Surgo, Poet Laureate of Milan, at the cost and instance of W. Caxton, a most beautiful and quite perfect copy, without the slightest defect or repair, folio, in old Oxford calf

<sup>2</sup> I abridge the footnote of Morris: 'Other translations are by John Walton of Osney, in verse, in 1410 . . . first printed at Tavistock in 1525. . . . An anonymous prose version in the Bodleian. George Colville, alias Coldewel, 1556. J. T. 1309; H. Conningesbye, 1664; Lord Preston, 1695, 1712; W. Causton, 1730; Redpath, 1785; R. Duncan, 1789; anon. 1792 (Lowndes).'

<sup>3</sup> 'There are three copies of this book in the British Museum, one at Cambridge, two at the Bodleian, one at Exeter and one at Magdalen College, Oxford; one at Ripon Minster, one at Sion College, London, and six in private hands.' See William Blades, *The Biography and Typography of William Caxton*, p. 215. New York, 1882.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of some Interesting, Rare, and Choice Books.*

binding, from Browne Willis's Library, £ 105. Printed by Caxton, with his name.

A more detailed description occurs in the *Biography and Typography of William Caxton, England's First Printer* by William Blades (New York, 1882), pages 213-15.

But there is nothing better to make clear Caxton's position with respect to the *Consolation* of Boethius than Caxton's Epilogue to his edition of Chaucer's translation, for there we find his own account of what he did and why he did it. His admiration of the *Consolation* and his praise of Chaucer in making the translation are sincere:

Thus endeth this book, which is named "The Book of Consolation of Philosophy," which that Boecius made for his comfort and consolation, he being in exile for the common and public weal, having great heaviness and thoughtes, and in manner of despair, rehearsing in the said book how Philosophy appeared to him shewing the mutability of this transitory life, and also informing how fortune and hap should be understood, with the predestination and prescience of God as much as may and is possible to be known naturally, as afore is said in this said book. Which Boecius was an excellent author of divers books, craftily and curiously made in prose and metre; and also had translated divers books out of Greek into Latin, and had been senator of that noble and famous city Rome; and also his two sons senators for their prudence and wisdom. And forasmuch as he withstood to his power the tyranny of Theodoric, then Emperor, and would have defended the said city and senate from his wicked hands, whereupon he was convicted and put in prison; in which prison he made this foresaid book of consolation for his singular comfort. And forasmuch as the style of it is hard and difficult to be understood of simple persons, therefore the worshipful father and first founder and embellisher of ornate eloquence in our English, I mean Master Geoffrey Chaucer, hath translated this said work out of Latin into our usual and mother tongue, following the Latin as nigh as is possible to be understood; whereir in mine opinion he hath deserved a perpetual laud and thank of all this noble royaume of England, and especially of them that shall read and understand it. For in the said book they may see what this transitory and mutable world is, and whereto every man living in it ought to intend. Then forasmuch as this said book so translated is rare and not spread ne known as it is digne and worthy, for the erudition and learning as such as be ignorant and not knowing of it, at request of a singular friend and gossip of mine, I, William Caxton, have done my devoir and pain to imprint it in form as is here afore made; in hoping that it shall profit much people to the weal and health of their souls, and for to learn to have and keep the better

patience in adversities. And furthermore I desire and require you that of your charity ye would pray for the soul of the said worshipful man Geoffrey Chaucer, first translator of this said book into English, and embellisher in making the said language ornate and fair, which shall endure perpetually; and therefore he ought eternally to be remembered, of whom the body and corpse lieth buried in the Abbey of Westminster beside London, to-wit the chapel of Saint Benedict, by whose sepulchre is written on a table hanging on a pillar his Epitaph, made by a Poet Laureate, wherof the copy followeth.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Pollard, A. W., *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, pp. 222-3. Westminster, 1903.

## REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS LXXIX (N. F. XXXIII) 1924.

Pp. 1-50. Th. Birt, Beiträge zum Verständnis der Oden des Horaz. The odes considered are numbers 1, 2, 8, 12, 32 of the first book. The comments deal with the dedications of the poems, their intention, date, language, spelling, and general interpretation. Some textual changes are suggested, e. g. I, 1, 4, collegisse iuvat, meta *ubi* fervidis; I, 2, 21, audiet cives *satiassse* ferrum; I, 32, 15, dulce lenimer, mihi *iuncta* salve. Parallel passages are cited from other authors to confirm many of the interpretations suggested.

Pp. 51-69. N. Wecklein, Die Antiope des Euripides. A discussion of the Antiope legend, and a suggested reconstruction of the play according to the fragments gathered from various sources. Particular mention is made of the papyrus fragment discovered by Flinders Petrie and published in Cunningham Memoirs, No. VIII (1891).

Pp. 70-111. E. Bornemann, Aristoteles' Urteil über Platons politische Theorie. The criticism of Plato's theory of the state found in Aristotle's Politika is most important. Great care must be taken to set forth the text in question minutely and to interpret it accurately. There follows then a translation of Aristotle's Politika 1260b 27-1264b 41; 1290b 38-1291a 33; 1315b 40-1316b 27. After the translation comes a series of exhaustive notes and explanations of the translation. The article is continued on a later page.

P. 112. Miscelle, 1. Karl Rapprecht, Empedocles fr. 133. Instead of *τε μεγίστη* we should read *τ' ἐλαχίστη*. Cf. Lucretius V, 102-3, via qua munita fidei | proxima.

Pp. 113-158. E. Bornemann, Aristoteles' Urteil über Platons politische Theorie. Continuation of the previous article, pp. 70-111. There is given a connected exposition of Aristotle's thought as developed in the preceding translation, and an examination of its correctness. In places Aristotle has misunderstood or misinterpreted Plato. The article is continued on a later page.

Pp. 159-187. Hugo Magnus, Neue Bruchstücke einer Ovidhandschrift. The article deals with the remains of a hitherto unknown manuscript of the Metamorphoses, which belongs to the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century. A collation of the new manuscript  $\rho$  with the author's edition of the Metamorphoses (Weidmann 1914) is given. Ms.  $\rho$  is a vul-

gate manuscript which belongs to Class X, and has hitherto been employed by no editor. The new manuscript agrees generally with the others of its class. It is valuable for the interpretation of Ovid as well as for ascertaining the state of Ovidian study about the year 1300.

Pp. 188-200. Karl Prinz, Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung der Achilleis des Statius. A series of notes to elucidate vexed passages in Book I of the Achilleis. The notes are based on the critical edition of A. Klotz (Leipzig, 1902) and the commentary of Brinkgreve (Rotterdam, 1913).

Pp. 201-221. Rudolf Wagner, Der Oxyrhynchus-Notenpapyrus. Volume XV of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (ed. Grenfell-Hunt, 1922) contains in No. 1786 a valuable contribution to our knowledge of ancient music, a Christian hymn with the corresponding notes. The writing shows the hymn to belong to the closing decades of the third century. The present article discusses the text, notation, rhythm and metre of the fragment, and gives some observations on its aesthetic value and its place in musical history. The composition shows the hand of an artist. The harmony is diatonic, the chromatic scale is not used. Two plates are appended, giving the hymn in modern notation.

Pp. 222-224. Miscellen. 2. H. Lehmann, Zu Petrons Cena Trimalchionis. It is clear that *oclopeta* (Petr. 35, 9) is a mistake. In Marcellus, *Ἱατρικὰ περὶ ἰχθύων*, p. 134, l. 17 (Physici et medici Graeci minores, vol. I) is mentioned *ὀκνέτεια χελιδών* = a flying fish the color of a swallow. *ὀκνέτεια* is a poetic form of *ὀκνέτης*, and the Romans may have latinized the word into *ocypeta* or *ocipeta* on the analogy of *poeta* from *ποιητής*. 3. pp. 222-224, Walter Anderson, Die Meleagrossage bei den Letten. Evidence to show the existence of the Meleager story among the Letts. 4. p. 224, W. Ensslin, Zu Appian b. c. I 94, 434 ed. Viereck. Viereck was mistaken in deleting the name of Norbanus from the passage in question.

Pp. 225-233. E. Kapp, Sokrates der Jüngere. In the three lives of Aristotle collected in Valentin Rose's edition of the Fragments (1886) it is stated that at the age of 17 Aristotle was in Athens, and became the pupil of Socrates just before his association with Plato began. This must have been Socrates the Younger who is mentioned both by Plato and by Aristotle. A discussion is given of the import of Aristotle's mention of the younger Socrates, *Metaphysics* 1036b 24.

Pp. 234-257. E. Bornemann, Aristoteles' Urteil über Platons politische Theorie. Conclusion of the article. The critique of the Laws is considered here. A translation is given of *Politika* 1265a 1-1266a 30, followed by explanatory notes and a summary

of the points involved. Some observations on Aristotle's personality are given, and special attention is directed to his strong belief in private property.

Pp. 258-297. H. Bogner, Kaiser Julians 5. Rede. The oration is to be interpreted as a piece of pagan gnosticism.

Pp. 298-312. Oskar Viedeban, Metrologica. Before the adoption of the Athenian standard the system of coinage that was in vogue at Corinth had for its unit a stater of 8.25 grams, the hundredth part of a Sidonian mina. Thirds of staters, too, were issued, and ten of these weighed one Sidonian shekel (27.5 grams). Besides the regular stater there was also a colonial or trade stater of 13.3 grams (= Tyrian shekel), and as a fractional part of this the half-stater was used. The Athenian drachma (4.29 grams), or half-stater, was the hundredth part of a slightly augmented Tyrian mina. Previous computations of the βασιλῆος πῆχυν and the μέτριος πῆχυν (Herodotus I 178) as approximately 50 cm. and 44 cm., respectively, are confirmed by calculations based upon data found in Herodotus I 50.

Pp. 313-322. Miscellen. 5. W. Schmid, Vergilius Catalepton 5. 7. A suggested re-grouping of the verses to clear up both text and interpretation. 6. pp. 317-322. Schwierczina, Coniectanea in Frontonem. Fifteen suggested emendations. 7. pp. 322. Hermann Kirchner, Dikaiarchos über Anziehung? The supposition that Dikaiarchus first advanced the theory of the sun's attraction on the earth is probably wrong. A plausible restoration of the text (Doxogr. Gr. 382b 12D) assigns the theory to Euenius.

Pp. 323-354. Thea Stifler, Das Wernickesche Gesetz und die bukolische Dihärese. Wernicke's 'law' has no justification, for at the end of the fourth foot of the Homeric hexameter there is no conscious avoidance of a final syllable that is long by position, and in post-Homeric epic poetry, except where there is imitation of Homeric technique, the spondaic fourth foot is rejected altogether.

Pp. 355-369. E. Bickel, Neupythagoreische Kosmologie bei den Römern. Examination of Pliny, Natural History, II 1 ff., and of Manilius I 515 ff. Pythagorean doctrine not necessarily derived from Posidonius is shown, and even un-Posidonian doctrine in Pliny is pointed out.

Pp. 370-433. Otto Crusius (†) and Rudolf Herzog, Der Traum des Herondas. A critical edition of the text of the eighth mime, preceded by Crusius' introduction and followed by Herzog's commentary and explanations. The relations of Herondas to his contemporaries are fully discussed.



P. 433. Miscelle, 8. Ludwig Gurlitt, Testamentum Porcelli. Cf. Buecheler-Heraeus, *Petronii Saturae et liber Priapeorum*, Berlin 1912, p. 269. *Pictoribus capillinas* is to be read for *rixoribus capitinas*. The *isiciarii* mentioned are a special kind of butcher.

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RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOLOGIE, N. F. 73. Band, Heft 3 u. 4.<sup>1</sup>

Pp. 243-272. W. Kroll, Quintilianstudien. This important article consists of three sections: the first (pp. 243-60) deals with the chapter on Synthesis (IX 4); the second (pp. 261-69), with the chapter on the Prepon (XI 1); and the third (pp. 269-72), with the chapter on Actio (XI 3). The author analyzes the chapters, points out Quintilian's real or probable sources, adduces parallel passages from other authors, and presents a few critical notes.

Pp. 273-289. Erich Preurer, Aus Heinrich Nicolaus Ulrichs' Nachlass. Twenty epigraphic notes based on the posthumous papers of H. N. Ulrichs († 1843). The notes, embodying commentary, corrections, restorations and new inscriptions, affect IG IV, V 1, VII, VIII, IX 1, XII 8 and XII 9.

Pp. 290-305. O. Hense, Zu Antipatros von Tarsos. Discussion of several fragments belonging to Antipater of Tarsos or claimed for this author by Herse: Athen. 346 c, 643 f; Philodemus *περὶ ὀργῆς*, col. xxxiii 23 ff.; Stobaeus IV 22, 25 (67, 25 M.); 22, 103 (70, 13 M.). Incidentally, a section is devoted to the *Chacrites* of Me-eager.

Pp. 306-23. Th. Birt, Eine Siegesinschrift und geographische Karte des Tuditanus. (Mit einem Anhang zu Livius V 16.) Birt makes it appear probable that in Plin. N. H. III 129, Tuditanus, qui domuit Histros, in statua sua ibi inscripsit, *statua* should be changed into *tabula*. It would follow that Tuditanus was the author of a map of Istria, and that the passage from Pliny should not be used—as has been done by E. Reisch—to restore CIL I<sup>2</sup>, No. 652, an inscription that commemorates the victory of Tuditanus in 129 B. C. Birt is satisfied with neither Buecheler's nor Reisch's restoration of the

<sup>1</sup> For the contents of Heft 1-2 of the Rh. Mus., see AJP. XLII 348-53. The delay of the present report is due to the temporary suspension of publication of the Rh. Mus., for which see pp. 371-72 of the following account.

IS, but proposes and defends a restoration of his own. An appendix shows how, by a few eliminations, the text of the oracle in Livy V 16, 9 may be reduced to Saturnians.

Pp. 324-42. H. Kallenberg, Bausteine für eine historische Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. 5. Deklination von *δύο*. Statistics on the use of the forms of *δύο* from Homer to Byzantine Greek. In the classic period *δυοῖν* is used as Genitive and Dative. In the Hellenistic period *δυοῖν* passed into the form *δυεῖν* and with few exceptions was restricted to the genitive, whilst *δυοί* forced its way into the dative. Popular Greek retained *δυοί* but, dropping the dual number, discarded therewith the form *δυοῖν* (*δυεῖν*). The Atticists of the second century of our era, as also later Procopius and Agathias, took up again the use of *δυοῖν*, but, for the most part, rejected *δυοί*. Side by side with the declensional forms, undeclined *δύο* was used in all periods of the language.

Pp. 343-49. U. Hofer, Zu alten Geographen. 1. In Pomponius Mela 1, 2 alias . . . nunc = modo . . . modo. The notion that Mela intended to write a fuller treatise must be given up. 2. Emendations of Ps.-Skymnos (Müller), 776. 3. Justification of the statement of Ps.-Skymnos, 161 f. 4. Publication of a suggestion of A. v. Gutschmid to change *ἀνέμων* to *νομίμων* in Agatharchides apud Phot. bibl. cod. 213, p. 171 a Bekk.

Pp. 350-358. Carl Clemen, Zu Firmicus Maternus. The author endeavors to explain more satisfactorily several passages that deal with various religious mysteries.

Pp. 359-70. Miscellen. H. Kallenberg (359-362) points out a number of small interpolations in the text of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. A. Debrunner (362-66) interprets *ἀν δὲ Αἰθαλεὺς σταγρὸς ἐκόσμιον οἱ σὺν Κύλλοι* (Gortynian law, Collitz-Bechtel 4991) as "since the year in which Kyllös and his associates of the *Αἰθαλεὺς σταγρὸς* were *kosmiontes*." Eduard Fraenkel (366-370) presents interesting observations on the stylistic form of *αἶνου*.

Portrait of A. Brinkmann facing page 371.

Pp. 371-72. The new editor of the Rheinisches Museum, F. Marx, and the publisher, J. D. Sauerländer, present a statement of the causes that led to the four years' suspension of publication of the periodical, and give a brief appreciation of the services of the former editor, A. Brinkmann, who died on July 28, 1923.

Pp. 373-401. August Brinkmann (†), Die Meteorologie Arrians (edited and supplemented by Hans Herter). Stobaeus

has preserved three fairly extensive meteorological fragments attributed to a certain Arrian. This Arrian is commonly believed to have been a writer of about the beginning of the second century B. C. Brinkmann thinks that this view is based on a misunderstanding and believes that the writer in question is identical with Arrian of Nicomedia of the second century of our era. The identity is shown by a detailed comparison of the vocabulary, forms, syntax, and style of the fragments with the same features of the acknowledged works of Arrian.

Pp. 402-25. Ernst Howald, Meleager und Achill. The article is a contribution to the solution of the Homeric question. Starting with an idea of Finsler's, Howald endeavors to show that the Iliad was modeled after the epos on the wrath of Meleager. But unlike the wrath of Meleager, the quarrel of Achilles with Agamemnon had no organic connection with the death of Achilles and so eventually the portion of the poem on the Death of Achilles got separated from the *μῆνις* and perished. There were many *aristeiai*, but the *aristeia* of Achilles was the only one that was capable of being developed into the Iliad. The process of evolution was about as follows. The Achilleis at first underwent a slight expansion. Then a great poet composed and added to it a poem on the Death of Patroclus. Next came Homer, who gave the Achilleis its present beginning, wove into its texture the Patrokleia and other *aristeiai* and lays. Even after Homer additions continued to be made and portions of the poem were worked over, until, finally, impersonal artistic creation ceased and the Iliad became a great model epic. Thereafter other epics were patterned after it.

Pp. 426-33. E. Schwyzer, Zu griechischen Inschriften (continued from Rh. Mus. LXX 426 ff.). 5. Zu den Defixionen von Selinunt. 6. Zur grossen Inschrift des pelagiotischen Larisa. 7. Zum delphischen Phaselitenstein. These notes were sent to Brinkmann in 1920 and since then the results have been incorporated in the author's new edition of Cauer's Delectus, Nos. 167 a, 322 (w. supplement pp. 461 sq.) and 590.

Pp. 434-48. Hermann Schoene, Hippokrates *Περὶ φαρμάκων*. Edition in parallel columns of the Greek text (based on the author's own transcription from the Codex Urb. gr. 64) and the 1515 Leyden Latin translation of the fragmentary treatise *περὶ φαρμάκων*, with critical commentary. The text is preceded by observations on early publications of the Greek text and of Latin translations of it, and is followed by a discussion containing parallel references to other works.

Pp. 449-55. L. Radermacher, Eustathius von Antiochien, Platon und Sophokles. On the basis of passages in Eustathius

*apud* Klostermann in Lietzmann's "Kleine Texte, etc.," the author concludes that *καὶ* should be struck out in Plato, *Republic*, 364 B, ἀγύρται δὲ καὶ μάντεις; that in Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 883, κάμπνέοντ' stands for καὶ ἐμπνέοντ' (not καὶ ἀμπνέοντ'); that in *Trachiniae* 335, ἐμμείνας' of *Parisinus* A should be restored for ἀμμείνας' of the *Laurentianus*; and that in *Philoctetes* 450, ἀποστέλλονο' should be retained.

Pp. 456-65. Antonius Funck, *De Euclione Plautino*. The author maintains, against Klingelhöffer, Bonnet and Leo, that *Euclio* was really a miser, and not simply a poor citizen who pretends to be poorer than he really is for fear that some one might suspect him of harboring the treasure.

Pp. 466-82. Friedrich Wilhelm, *Plutarchos Περὶ ἡσυχίας*. Translation, with critical notes, and detailed study of this fragment, which has been preserved by *Stobaeus* IV 16, 18, pp. 398 f. H.

P. 482. Fridericus Marx, *Critica Hermeneutica*. Notes on *Diphilus*, fr. 42 K., *Porphyr. de abstin.* IV 8, and *CIL* XIII 705.

Pp. 483-87. Index.

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## REVIEWS.

*Festskrift til Amund B. Larsen paa Hans 75-Aars Fødselsdag,*  
15 Desember 1924. Kristiania, H. Aschehoug & Co., 1924.  
Pp. 246.

A number of colleagues and former students of Dr. Amund B. Larsen have joined in presenting him with this anniversary volume of investigations in Norwegian dialects and general linguistics on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday. It is a volume of very solid content, which every worker in these departments of study will surely wish to possess. There are sixteen articles by Norwegian scholars, one by a Danish, and one by a Swedish scholar. As already indicated, problems that concern themselves with the present dialects of Norway occupy a large place in these investigations, but most of these also have an interest that reaches beyond the region immediately considered. Other articles consider questions in Old Norse phonology, general Scandinavian linguistics, and Primitive Germanic.

Professor Magnus Olsen discusses grammatical and logical gender in east and south Norwegian city dialects, considering mainly Arendal (pp. 73-81). He treats the def. pl. form of masculine and feminine nouns whose indefinite plural have no ending, because the majority of them are words designating quantity or material. For example, *en kål*, which by analogy to the class of nouns to which it belongs should in the pl. be (*to*) *kåler*, def. *kålene*; but one says instead (*to*) *kål*, *kålene*, as *de kålene jeg kjøpte var bedærvet*. That is, when one wishes to convey the idea of quantity and not that of individual objects, the neuter invariable plural and simple accent replaces the usual plural endings and the compound accent; it goes like *hus-húsa*. The writer has found this principle operating even in such a case as *de fire mávna* (p. 80).<sup>1</sup> But the words exhibit also the usual individualizing plural, as *de kålene*, *de skålene*, when that meaning is intended to be conveyed. It is of exceeding interest that, on the other hand, neuters, contrary to their usual declension, may assume the individualizing compound accent and common gender ending when individualization is desired (p. 81).

Mr. M. Berntzen gives an account of the remains of *u-* and *w-* umlaut of *a* in the Stavanger dialect (pp. 150-155). As we should expect it to be in this southwest Norwegian city, the re-

<sup>1</sup> 'The four men.'

tention of this umlaut form is abundantly evidenced, but the influence of standard speech in the city dialect is very important here as elsewhere in Norway, and we find that the umlaut forms are far less numerous in Stavanger than in the country around it. However, Stavanger uses such a form as *nått*, pl. *netter*, and in compounds as *nåttevakt*, 'nightwatch,' *nåttevågin*, by the side of *nattaro*, 'piece at night,' and other similar cases (*hårv*, 'harrow,' *tånn*, 'tooth'), where in cities farther east the standard (Riksmål) form would be used. There is, then, considerable conservatism upon this point in Stavanger.

In these and other matters we shall find conditions to be quite different if we turn to a dialect of southeastern Norway. Of such a one Mr. Trygve Knudsen gives us an interesting historical and descriptive survey in an article entitled "Om Tønsberg Bymål," pp. 130-142. Tønsberg is situated south of Oslo on the west side of Oslo Bay and like all town dialects in that region has in the last half-century undergone extensive modernizing under the influence of the literary language and the cultured speech of the capital. To take the example of a single word: the negative *inte* of the Tønsberg region, which long ago yielded to *ikke* in the upper stratum of speech in the city of Tønsberg, has now practically been replaced by *ikke* also in the lower strata. This particular instance the writer attributes to the influence of reading and of the schools. As an example of a relatively recent change away from the historically correct local forms I shall take the present equivalent of words with original *rn*, as standard *bjørn*, 'bear,' and *horn*, 'horn,' Old Norse *biörn*, and *horn*. In Oslo and in cultivated Norwegian these are now pronounced *bjørn* and *horn*, and it is this in Tønsberg. But the east Norwegian equivalent of ON. *rn* is now *nn* (*dn* in western Norway, and *rn*, *rrn* in Troms of northern Norway). In Vestfold in general and in the dialects around Tønsberg *n* or *nn* prevails<sup>2</sup> so that one says *bån* for *barn* and *kvån* for *kvarn*, but also in some words *rn*, as *garn*, by the side of *gån*, for *garn*, 'yarn.' I do not know the date of Ross's investigation of the dialect, but in 1882, according to Professor Storm's word-lists, the *rn* and the *nn* forms are found side by side in Vestfold.<sup>3</sup> Dr. A. B. Larsen is surely right when he held in 1898 that when *rn* is found in southeastern Norway in the speech of the cities it is there by influence of the literary language. Now in the present city dialect of Tønsberg *-rn* is well-nigh universal (Knudsen, p. 137). It sounds a bit strange, however, when he describes the situation as follows: "Støttet til dannet dagligtale og skriftsprog har *rn* holdt sig (som supra-

<sup>2</sup> H. Ross, *Norske Bygdemål*, VII. *Føldamål*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Skulerud in the present *Festskrift*, p. 41.

dental *rn*) utenfor noen få crd som fra bysprogs standpunkt må regnes for indidørte lånord, således *bjønn*, *binna*. Ellers *bärn* . . . *körn*, *hörn*, *kvärn*, *järn*." As the *nn* forms have not been adopted by those whose natural forms have *rn*, but vice versa, one can hardly call the cited instances loanwords 'from the standpoint of city speech' even.

Another example of the disappearance of the local vernacular for standard speech is that of the condition in the diphthongs, but here it does not seem to me that we necessarily have to do with the influence of standard speech, local tendencies all through southeastern Norway have, since late Old Norse times, been in that direction, in varying degrees in the different parts of the region. In this matter it is interesting to see that whereas in the surrounding dialects a diphthong is simplified before a consonant combination resulting from the addition of an inflexional ending, Tønsberg is here more conservative than the country around, as when *blīut*, 'soft,' neuter *blött*, *græi*, 'clear, frank,' neuter, *grëtt*, is in Tønsberg, *bläut-blött*, and *græi-gräit*. Finally I shall mention the levelling of the stem vowel of the pppte. of strong verbs to that of the infinitive, as *finna-fönni* (ON. *funnit*) to *finna-finna*, *væra-vöri* to *væra-væri*. This is fully established. But right here again city dialectal development has influenced usage, so that the neuter strong pppte. form is giving place to the weak form in *-t*, as *væra-vært*, and in such verbs as *dra*, 'draw,' *dratt*, and *dradd* (it is no longer *dra-dri'i*). Knudsen's survey of Tønsberg speech is especially welcome at this time, for there have been but few monographs published on southeast Norwegian.

Didrik Arup Seip writes on the assimilation *kn* > *nn*, and *tn* > *nn* (as *vatn* > *væn*, *botn* > *bonn*) in the dialects of the southern coast regions, showing the presence of this phenomenon already in early Middle Norwegian times, pp. 169-185, and Gustav Indrebø discusses the loss of the plural of verbs in xiv-xv<sup>th</sup> century Norwegian, pp. 106-114. Torleiv Hannaas gives an interesting account of work on Norwegian dialects before Ivar Aasen, pp. 87-105; it is well known that there were many who collected dialect words and wrote about the local vernaculars in Norway in the xvi<sup>th</sup> and xvii<sup>th</sup> centuries, but these pages add much new and valuable information. Another article in the *Festskrift* deals with one such collection: "En ordsamling mellem Gunnerus' papirer," by Ragnvald Iversen, pp. 190-200. The words here contained are mostly from northern Norway; Iversen offers an introductory account of the contents, and publishes a selection of ca. 150. There is no etymological discussion, merely the words of the original collector; I shall take the liberty, however, to add in regard to that strange term *haargje*, 'violin,' a reference here to a recent explanation of this word

by Otto Anderson on pp. 209-210 of his *Stråkarpan. En studie i nordisk instrumenthistoria*. Helsingfors, 1923. He explains it as a violin with strings of hair and compares *tagelharpe*, Finnish *jouhikantele*. This is surely correct.

On the subject of musical accent there is a study by Vilhelm Riksheim who deals with this as found in the Vefsen dialect in northern Norway, pp. 213-223. The unrounding of vowels in the dialects of Trondhjem Province by Jørgen Reitan must be briefly noted, pp. 201-212. The delabialization of *y* and *ø* is a phenomenon that is well known in linguistic history, but it is peculiarly characteristic of East Norwegian, as the author notes, p. 201, to which may be added that the unrounding of *y* is extensively evidenced in western Norway, but in a somewhat different form than in the North. Mr. Reitan limits his study to the stressed position, finds that the change under discussion has geographically much wider scope in the case of *ø* than in that of *y*, and the influence is usually a following *l* or *r*. It reaches its most pronounced form in Selbu, as in the words *där* for 'dør,' *gälv* for 'golv,' and *fälk* for 'folk.' The resulting vowel varies, from a half unrounded one to one with passive position, but in the examples from Selbu the unrounding has gone beyond the passive lip position to one in which the lips are drawn back slightly.

Of exceeding importance is Prof. Jakob Sverdrup's study of IdE. \**bh*, \**dh*, \**gh*, in the earliest Germanic, pp. 224-232. The longest article in the volume deals with the MSS left by Johan Storm, in so far as they concern themselves with Norwegian dialects; an account of the 121 titles is offered by Olai Skulerud, together with the phonology and forms of *a*, Vestfold, and *b*, Lower Buskerud-Oslo, on the basis of the Storm collections, pp. 1-73. Johan Storm, throughout most of his long academic career was Professor of English and Romance Philology in Christiania University, but he took great interest in research in this field and became in 1882 the founder of the Norwegian Dialect and Folklore Society. Some of the materials he left have already been published by Dr. Skulerud in the transactions of the Christiania Scientific Society, series II, 1919.

There is, naturally, no account of Dr. A. B. Larsen's own extensive contributions to this field, but the evidence of the profound importance of his work, and the recognition of his leadership for a generation and more is evidenced throughout the volume in the many references to his writings and his views. We are, however, given by Professor Sigurd Kolsrud a list of Larsen's publications and his journeys of investigation, which began in 1882 with a visit to Solør, then continued several months, almost every year for forty years, south, east, north and west, and closes in 1924 again with Solør. In a letter to me



from Dr. Larsen, of date Jan. 13, last, it appears that he regards his work, *Sognemålene*, 1921-1925, as probably his last. But it is sincerely hoped that he will still be able to publish some parts of the material in his extensive collections.

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M. Tulli Ciceronis De Finibus bonorum et malorum. Libri I-II. Edited by J. S. Reid, Litt. D. Cambridge, *At the University Press*, 1925. 238 pp. 8°. 16 sh.

Every classical scholar, I dare say, knows something of Madvig's edition of the *De Finibus* (first edition, Copenhagen 1839; second ed., Copenhagen 1869). Editions of the classics are not as perennial as the texts themselves: Bentley's Horace, Munro's Lucretius, J. B. Mayor's Juvenal, Conington-Nettleship's Vergil, Schoemann's *De Deorum Natura*, to which we may add Orelli's *Onomasticon*, or perhaps A. C. Clark's *Asconius*—these seem to defy time itself, the *πανδαράτωρ*. If I may be permitted to say so, I do not hesitate to rank Reid's *De Finibus* with these. As for the great Danish Ciceronian, he will not suffer by comparison with Reid, even now, and vice versa; the reader will rise from the comparative study of the two with a feeling of their rare excellence and eminence, exceeding one's sanguine expectations.

It is fully forty years ago (1885) since Dr. Reid published *M. Tulli Ciceronis Academia*, The text revised and explained, London, Macmillan, Printed at the Cambridge University Press. For the preface of that edition Dr. Reid said, *inter alia*: "While I have tried in the first place to bring my own reading of the ancient authors to bear on the elucidation of Cicero's work, I have not neglected such modern aids to its study as it seemed of importance to consult." Modest and true words, the very model for that kind of work. And we understand that the Cambridge Ciceronian has pursued his task of the *De Finibus*, off and on, from 1885 to 1925. Of course, there are no aids for parsing and translation, nor other elementary features; but anything and everything that could illumine or elucidate Cicero's text, seems to have been closely studied, weighed and valued; never mechanically appropriated or superciliously rejected. Naturally, Madvig figures more largely than any other scholar. For convenience sake my citations are, throughout, from Reid's pages: 13, 14, 15, 18, 23, 47, 51, 53, 69, 92, 100, 117, 153, 156, etc.; but if the present student desires to test Dr. Reid's faculties at their best, where Reid is able to correct, modify, reduce or

expand the commentary of the great Danish scholar, I would beg to refer the reader particularly to pp. 39, 43, 49, 56, 57, 69, 71 (a great excursus there), 109, 147, 163. We realize that the copyists of MSS often were not Latin scholars at all, but mechanical transcribers; and, least of all, were they conversant with delicate points of Ciceronian idiom (see esp. p. 215).

With the utmost liberality of appreciation, Dr. Reid avails himself of every aid for parallels or elucidation: Naegelsbach's *Stylistik*, Schmalz, Draeger's *Hist. Syntax*, Kühner, Neue-Wagener, Wilkins' ed. of *De Oratore*, Sandys's *Orator*, Marx's *Ad Herennium*, Woelfflin's *Archiv* (passim), Otto's *Lateinische Sprichwörter*, monographs in *Hermes*, *Philologus*, *Rh. Mus.*, Mnemosyne (de Boot, p. 193), Tyrrell and Purser's *Cicero's Correspondence* (153, 170). Of course, Reid's work has been vastly aided by Merguet's *Concordance*. But even so there is a wealth of delicate discussion; e. g. on *quasi vero* (p. 112), *quaeso* (54), *posse se vivere* (163), *callido improbo* (167), *amplus* (180), esp. on *barones* (187), on *quoque* (214), *aerumna* (221), *dictata* (203), *disperxit* (205), *avere* (160), *quarum potiendi spe* (87).

One realizes that Cicero, hampered by the *egestas* (to which Lucretius referred), was incessantly compelled to coin new words. We note here: *infinitio*, *consecutio*, *allevatio*, *praeceptrix*, *perfunctio*, *effectrix*, *patefactio*, *restitio*, *depulsio*, *architectari*, *conservatio*, *contemptio*.

All this work is of the finest; but as a student of Greek philosophy I value even more the extraordinary industry of Dr. Reid on the material side. I mean the study of Epicurean Hedonism (as compared with the Stoic καθήκον, officium) from Democritus to Epicurus and so down to the devout Latinizer of the same, Lucretius, whom Cicero, after the single reference in his correspondence, never mentions by name. Munro's notes, of course, are often cited by Reid. Diogenes Laertius, B. X, is obviously the largest quarry. Plutarch's *Adversus Coloten* and *Non posse suaviter vivi* are often referred to, but Reid also ascends to Plato (Phaedrus, Timaeus, Republic, "letter to Archytas") and Aristotle's Ethics, and descends to Lactantius, Porphyry (ad Marcellam, de Abst.), Augustine (De Civitate Dei), Ausonius' Cento from Vergil. The epigram of Sardanapalus (211 sq.), and, of course, Philodemus, and Scott's edition of the Herculanean Scrolls, and Clem. Alex. Stromateis are mentioned. Usener's *Epicurea* naturally figure much, and Gomperz is repeatedly cited. Throughout Dr. Reid takes great pains to present the Greek equivalents or originals of Cicero's exposition, as, e. g. δίνη (31), δέικελα and ἀπειρία (33), the αἰπερά and φευκτά (36), κορυφαῖος (42), αὐτοδιήγητος ἐρμηνεία (45), ἀδιάστροφα (46), προσκρούειν aspernari (46), ἐμφυτος insitus (49), ἐπιβολή τῆς

διανοίας (5), διαστάθμησις (51), ἐπονία (59), γαργαρισμός (61), ὄρμη (66), τέλος (66), οἴησις (59), γαλήνη (70), ἀταραξία, ἀθαμβία (76), καθήκον (107), ἀπάθεια indolentia (115), θεωρία, ἄτομον individuum (155).

We must not forget that in his ed. of the *Academica*, in 1885, Dr. Reid had given an elaborate delineation of Cicero's interest in, and production of, Greek philosophy. (A little slip there, on p. 20. The *censor* Licinius Crassus, the great orator of Cicero's youth, not the orator M. Antonius, was the one who suppressed the Latin "*rhetores*," in 92 B. C. Cf. Cic. de Orat. III, 93, Suet. de Rhetoribus I, and my *Cicero of Arpinum*, pp. 13 sq. Also Cicero's reconciliation with Cæsar after Pharsalos was in 47, not 46.)

It remains for the student to emancipate himself from the depreciation of Cicero made fashionable for some time by Mommsen's hatred of that name. We cite from Dr. Reid's *Academica*, p. 26, note 2: "The chief promoter of this prejudice has been Mommsen, who has found many to follow him" . . . "Had Cicero by any chance been author of a proscription, he would probably have been one of Mommsen's heroes." May I be permitted to refer to my essay, *Cicero, an Appreciation*, *American Journal of Philology*, 1914, pp. 1-11.

When one realizes how slender and how primitive was the culture of Cicero on the Latin side, how overwhelming, nay how ubiquitous, the Greek, then, and then only, one begins to deal fairly and correctly with Cicero's cultural personality and with his philosophical production. Cf. my biography of Cicero, pp. 37 sq.

E. G. SIHLER.

MT. VERNON, NEW YORK.

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The *Annals of Quintus Ennius*. Edited by ETHEL MARY STEUART. Cambridge, *At the University Press*, 1925. viii + 246 pp.

This modest book, which will make the fragments of the *Annals* accessible to our college students, deserves a hearty welcome. It gives first the well-authenticated lines with a select apparatus, then the *incertae sedis fragmenta*, the *dubia*, and the *spuria*; after which follows a commentary which undertakes concisely to justify the text and the placement of the lines, and to provide appropriate linguistic, metrical, and interpretative suggestions. These notes are at times of a rather elementary kind but disclose on every page a careful study in widely separate fields of interests. Ennius is not a text for beginners in annotation. For the advanced student this volume will by no means

displace Vahlen's edition with its full apparatus and elaborate discussion of the historical setting, but it will be of value even to him in its constant challenge to Vahlen's credulous conservatism.

Since almost every line of Ennius is a problem in setting if not in text, readers are sure to disagree with any editor. To the reviewer, Miss Steuart's judgments on dubious lines seem to range from diffidence to undue daring; and since the exigencies of space have compelled her to be somewhat too concisely dogmatic, it may be of service to indicate a few typical instances of inconclusive editing.

In listing the *spuria* the editor applies a wholesome scepticism regarding the accuracy of late grammarians but a rather dangerous belief in Ennius' freedom from lapses. There is, as she rightly says, no respectable evidence that Ennius mangled the words *cerebrum* and *Massilitanus* with tmesis. However, she has too frequently disregarded good evidence in relegating ugly though well-authenticated phrases and lines to the list of *spuria*. When Ausonius attributes *endo suam do* to Ennius and Varro alludes to the tag in his quaint phrase *endo suam domum* we must accept it, and the editor ought to refer to Varro's allusion in the notes. The jangling line *O Tite tute* is hardly a credit to any poet, but it is attributed to Ennius by three grammarians and was quoted by the Auctor ad Herennium from some early poet. In view of the fact that Ennius wrote about Tatius and that his alliterations sometimes jar we have no right to pronounce the line spurious. Why not drop it among the *dubia*? But this lot is also somewhat overloaded, for it contains several instances like the famous *Nos sumus Romani qui fuimus ante Rudini* quoted by Cicero. The editor's comment is simply "This line is obviously about Ennius, but Cicero does not state that it is by Ennius." Yet what need is there of the statement since it is written in the first person, and we know that Ennius wrote about himself in the twelfth book? And that apposite fact is not even mentioned in the notes.

In the arrangement of the accepted fragments, on the other hand, the reader is likely to find over-much credulity. For instance, Regel's discovery of the order of citations in Macrobius VI, 1, 11-15 is unfortunately disregarded, the assumption of Roman troops in Sicily in 277 B. C. to account for fr. 21 of the sixth book makes one rub one's eyes. Norden's drastic conjectures have been too uncritically accepted in the editing of books VII and VIII, and the assignment of the ninth book to the years 203-2 is wholly unjustified.

The text itself is conservative and is usually based upon the best editions. There is still, however, need for careful sifting. For instance, the editor retains *diu* in fr. 1, bk. II, with the

note "the *dia* of the second hand is an obvious scribe's emendation." But Ziegler has demonstrated in his edition of Cicero's *De Republica* that the corrector of this old manuscript was very trustworthy. Since Miss Stuart justifies her transfer of the fragment (erroneously I think) to the second book by reference to *div* a more careful weighing of the evidence was essential. The notes are serviceable though some readers will like to have more cross references to Homer and Vergil and will perhaps resent the inclusion of the excursus of dubious value on "ballad poetry."

Miss Stuart set herself an unusually difficult task which in the main she has performed with great credit. I hope that she may be induced to edit the rest of the Ennian fragments in a second volume.

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Frontinus: The Stratagems, and the Aqueducts of Rome; with an English Translation by Charles E. Bennett, the Translation of the Aqueducts being a Revision of that of Clemens Herschel. Edited and prepared for the Press by MARY B. McELWAIN. London, William Heinemann; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, MCMXXV. xl + 484 pp.

This new volume of the Loeb Classical Library should have a wide appeal, not only to the general reader but to the professional scholar as well. Frontinus' *De Aquis* is perhaps the most interesting and most important treatise we have on the water supply of ancient Rome. The text is far from perfect, and it presents a good many technical difficulties, especially in the mathematical chapters, but Professor Bennett has done about the best that could be done with it. One feature of the volume is open to criticism. The two Latin texts follow pretty closely the texts of Gundermann and Bücheler, respectively, but the brackets and diacritical marks employed by the German editors have been omitted "for the sake of appearance." Hence the reader sometimes runs quite unwarned into a bit of utterly impossible Latin; e. g., pp. 80, 16; 366, 1; 400, 2; 426, 10. There are a few obvious misprints; pp. 50, 3; 180, 24; 184, 22; 355, 11; 442, 12. On p. 318, l. 6, *sua fide* can hardly mean "by this expression of confidence." It means rather, from his own engagement, his own promise, to put them to death.

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Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae. Collegit Theodorus Hopfner. Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Weber, 1922-1925. Five parts, pp. 932.

This extensive work is fasciculus II of the Fontes Historiae Religionum ex Auctoribus Graecis et Latinis Collecti edited by Carl Clemen, who in 1920 issued the first fascicle dealing with the religion of the Persians. The general editor is to be congratulated on securing the coöperation of Professor Hopfner, who has performed his task with exceptional zeal and thoroughness.

The collection of passages relating to the religion of Egypt here offered must be nearly, if not quite, complete. After occupying myself for years with the tradition of the Greeks and Romans regarding Egypt, I have run through the texts included in this book without discovering any thing of importance omitted. This is a merit not usual in works of this kind. When I speak of completeness, however, I have in mind the limits set by the series. There are certain passages in late Latin Fathers which are not included, though they unquestionably derive from older sources. Moreover, the texts here offered do not include the inscriptions, a fact to be regretted, because some are difficult of access. Doubtless the bulk of the book would have been increased by this addition unless the compiler had chosen to omit certain long texts, such as those of Herodotus and Plutarch, which are likely to be in the hands of any one who purchases this book; but Dr. Hopfner may have felt that the comprehensive index, with which he concludes his work, would gain in practical usefulness if all passages referred to could be conveniently consulted. This is undoubtedly true, and it would be ungracious of us, while regretting what he omitted to do, not to recognize to the full the valuable service he has rendered.

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Virgile, Bucoliques. Texte établi et traduit par Henri GOELZER. Paris. Société d'Édition "*Les Belles Lettres*," 1925, 9 frs.

This new volume of the 'Collection des Universités de France' may be commended to all American students who read, or ought to read, French. It gives a good introduction to the Bucolics, the Latin text with a prose translation, and a few concise notes. One note is perhaps open to question. As for the 'sandyx' of

iv. 45, the editor accepts Pliny's comment, 'quamquam animadverto Vergilium existimasse herbam id esse.' But why assume that Virgil regarded the 'sandyx' as a vegetable food, or a vegetable dye, any more than the 'murex' of the previous line? On p. 56 the quatrains of Theocr. viii seem to be ascribed to Theocr. vii.

W. P. MUSTARD.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

The present serious industrial depression in Germany, where 1,600,000 workers are reported as unemployed in February, has led the publishers of *Bursian's Jahresbericht* to order a marked reduction in the size of that famous journal. The editor, Professor Karl Münscher, informs me that the sum of \$700 in new subscriptions would make it possible to maintain the original scale of publication. At the subscription price of \$9.00 that means only 80 new subscribers. It seems not impossible that a sufficient number of institutions and individuals might be found in this country who would subscribe under these conditions in order to prevent a serious loss to the progress of our science. Notices of new subscriptions should be sent either to the editor, Professor Dr. Karl Münscher, Münster i. W., Breul 12, or to the publishing house, O. R. Reisand, Leipzig, Karlstrasse 20.

W. A. OLDFATHER,  
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Every scholar knows the defects of the bibliographies compiled for the years of the War, and for the immediately succeeding years. This lacuna in our apparatus is soon to be filled; for a group of French scholars, under the chairmanship of Jules Marouzeau, and with the support of a number of organizations, has prepared a complete *Bibliographie Décennale de l'Antiquité Classique*, for the years 1914-24. The work makes 2000 pages, closely printed, in two volumes; a brief abstract or indication of the contents accompanies each item. The Association Guillaume Budé, of which the distinguished Maurice Croiset is President, has undertaken to see it through the press, and expects to issue it in the summer or autumn of 1926. The Délégué Général of the Association, Jean Malye, well known in America, writes that about \$4000 is needed to finance the work; that some funds have been collected for its assistance; that he desires to secure

about \$1200 more. He has appealed to the undersigned, Délégué Correspondant aux Etats-Unis, for assistance in raising this sum. I shall be glad to receive any sum from One Dollar upward, in support of this monumental work. While its price has not yet been definitely fixed, it is probable that to advance subscribers a bound copy, including postage, will cost not far from Eight Dollars. Any contribution of Five Dollars or more will, if desired, be credited towards a copy, the balance to be paid on the appearance of the work.

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University of Pennsylvania,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

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#### THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

As the last pages of the Journal are going to press, news is received of the incorporation of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA, which is interested in every phase of the arts, letters, and life of the Middle Ages. Simultaneously with this news is received a copy of the first number of *Speculum*, the quarterly organ of the Academy. The successful launching of the Academy, the eminence of its officers—Rand (president), Manly, Haskins, Willard (vice-presidents), Brown (treasurer), Cram (clerk)—, the plans that have been perfected, the co-operation that has been promised, the high character of the first publication, are guarantees of the continued success of the enterprise. The American Journal of Philology begs leave to offer congratulations, and ventures to predict for the Academy a great future. All those who may be interested in membership are referred to the clerk, Dr. R. A. Cram, Room 312, 248 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

C. W. E. MILLER.

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## CICERO DE OPTIMO GENERE ORATORUM

The brief treatise current as early as Asconius under this title has received little attention from students of the rhetorical works of Cicero, and per se it deserves little. But as a tentative step in the sequence of *Brutus* and *Orator* it is of peculiar interest—a roughly hewn and abandoned block from the workshop which produced the two larger treatises.

It professes to be the preface to a translation of the great speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes in the indictment and defense of Ctesiphon, undertaken for the purpose of making plain to Roman readers what true Atticism is, as contrasted with the narrow conception of it as a plain repressed style, entertained and promulgated by those who called themselves Atticists. The translation itself was probably never made. There is no allusion to it nor citation from it in antiquity, and absence of mention in certain contexts furnishes ground for this belief—an argument *ex silentio* to be sure, not cogent but probable. Certain at all events it is that the preface which we have was detached and circulated under its own title as early as Asconius. The title itself must be attributed to an editor, not to Cicero himself, since the whole argument of the treatise is directed against the current notion that there were different and equally justified genera oratorum: Orators there are, worse better and best; but of oratory there is but one genus. A suitable title might have been *de optimo oratore*<sup>1</sup>—not conceived of as an individual, but as an attainable realization—and with slight

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ad Quint. Frat. 3.5.1 (referring to the treatise *De republica*) libros de optimo statu civitatis et de optimo cive.

modification of conception this title was in fact used in the ultimate work for which this first sketch was discarded, viz., the *Orator*.

But beyond this conclusion one may, I feel convinced, advance a step further, and argue plausibly, if not demonstrate, that the preface was not only not brought out by Cicero himself, but was in fact never finished for publication.<sup>1a</sup> To distinguish between completed and incomplete work in the case of so rapid and, in his rhetorical and philosophical works, often so precipitous a composer as Cicero is doubtless a rash undertaking, but I shall nevertheless venture to call attention to some parts which reveal the brevity of mere jottings and suggestions, to omissions of words (which modern editors have supplied), to suppressed sequences of thought, to evidence of double treatment. Something of this feeling was apparently entertained by Paul Manutius, who commented: "Hic liber . . . Ciceronis est, mutilus tamen mihi videtur, nam suspectam habeo brevitatem nimiam"—unless possibly he refers merely to the external brevity of the whole work.

As for the date of the work, it has been the current view (Teuffel, 5th ed., names the year 44, the new edition 'aus der Zeit um J. 46') that it is subsequent to the *Orator*. Curcio derives an argument for this conclusion from the fact that the

<sup>1a</sup> From the absence of any later allusion to the translation Philippson, N. Jhrb. 133 (1886), p. 425, concluded that it was never made. Since (as will appear) it is reasonably certain that *De finibus* is later than our treatise, absence of allusion to such a translation in *De fir.* 1, 6 is significant. See also on relation to the *Orator*, n. 2, p. 111 below. Jerome, in his spirited and readable defence of his own method of rendering (*Ep.* 57, *de optimo genere interpretandi*) alludes to the translation as if made and before him—*quanta in illis* (sc. the translations from Aeschines and Demosthenes) *praetermiserit, quanta addiderit, quanta mutaverit*—but he refrains from specific illustration (*non est huius temporis dicere*). His citations are only from the extant preface. Jerome is a church-worthy to be treated with all honor, but his contemporaries recognized in him a human weakness to make vaunt of a learning even beyond the record. Rufinus (*Apolog.* in St. Hieron. II 7, Migne vol. 21, col. 589) reports the oath of Jerome to abstain from pagan literature, and notes its violation not only in the case of well-known authors and works, but—*etiam ea quae non sunt scripta legisse se scribit* (cited by K. Kunst, *Wien. Stud.* 41 (1919), p. 98).

*Orator* contains no reference nor allusion to the translation, which he thinks would have been inevitable if the translation had then (46) been in existence.<sup>2</sup> But this view rests upon the assumption that the translation was made and circulated, and in that case something could be said for it. But if this were not the case another possibility is open, viz., that the preface and the contemplated translation were undertaken *before* the *Orator*. This in fact I believe was the case, and that in the first or general part of the little treatise we have a first draft, *de optimo oratore*, of a treatment which was abandoned for the larger undertaking of the *Orator*. The evidence may not be considered conclusive, but I venture nevertheless to make one or two observations which seem to point in that direction.

The work opens with a distinction between the character of poetry and oratory which is fundamental for Cicero's argument: There are different kinds of poets, cultivating different styles of poetry, as for example Homer and Menander, attaining to wholly different kinds of excellence. But oratory may not be so divided into genera, and orators differ from one another not in kind but in degree, that is in their success or failure in attaining to the common ideal of oratory—docere delectare movere. In the *Orator*,<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, sophistic and epideictic oratory (including history) are set apart, along with poetry and philosophy, as constituting a wholly different genus from forensic oratory. This sharpness of distinction is not blurred by the fact that in our treatise (15 and 17) Thucydides and Isocrates are alluded to, since Thucydides is criticized not as historian, but

<sup>2</sup> Opere retoriche di Cicerone, Acireale 1900, p. 183: "Quanto non sarebbe tornato a proposito, discutendo le particolari questioni della scelta delle parole, della loro collocazione, del suono, del numero, riferirsi alla traduzione." Curcio cites no example, but peculiarly significant for his point of view would be *Orator* 133: verum haec vis quam quaerimus, quanta sit suspicemur, quoniam exemplum non habemus, aut si exempla sequimur, a Demosthene sumamus, et quidem perpetuae dictionis ex eo loco unde in Ctesiphontis iudicio de suis factis consiliis meritis in rem publicam adgressus est dicere. Bornecque, *L'Orateur*, etc., Paris 1921, p. 103: "Il (de optimo genere) est vraisemblablement postérieur à l'*Orator*, où l'on n'y trouve aucune allusion."

<sup>3</sup> The theme is treated twice in the *Orator*, concluding each time in the same manner, 42 and 63.

as a preposterous model of oratory, and neither he nor Isocrates are put out of court as working in another genus, but merely as inadequate models. The plain fact is that the absolute position taken here is sharply qualified in the *Orator*, in a manner which implies further reflection or instruction, or both.

But more important as pointing to the priority of our treatise to the *Orator* is a general consideration, not without interest for the evolution of Cicero's thought as revealed in the latter work. The conception of an ideal orator, superior to any recorded example, corresponding to the Platonic *idéa*, does not appear in any of the rhetorical works before the *Orator*. It is not found in the *De oratore*, nor even in the *Brutus*, though the latter work has one or two passages which look toward it.<sup>4</sup> A distinction must be made here between perfection as an historical term, and ideal perfection such as never was nor is. Just as to the Greek critics Demosthenes was already *ὁ ῥήτωρ*, so to Cicero plane perfectum et cui nihil admodum desit Demosthenem facile dixeris (*Brutus* 35). But in the *Orator* Cicero's thought has gone beyond this to the notion of an ideal transcending any record of perfection—qualis fortasse nemo fuit (7). To this ideal Demosthenes is the nearest approximation, but only that: (in *Bruto*) recorder longe omnibus me anteferre Demosthenem, quem velim accommodare ad eam quam sentiam eloquentiam, non ad eam quam in aliquo ipse cognoverim. But even Demosthenes does not wholly satisfy this ideal (104). This then is the dominating note of the first half of the *Orator*, this is the novel and transcendental reply to Brutus' matter of fact query de optimo genere oratorum.

If now we turn to our treatise we find that the inquiry is apparently the same, but there is a significant difference. He is seeking by analysis to gain agreement as to what and who the best, the perfect orator is: optimus est qui dicendo animos

<sup>4</sup> *Brutus* 161 ut eo nihil ferme quisquam addere posset, nisi qui a philosophia, a iure civili, at historia fuisset instructor. But this is not an ideal, but a prophecy of himself, which the helpless Brutus of the dialogue is constrained to point—erit, inquit Brutus, aut iam est iste quem expectas? Cf. Jahn on *Brutus* 23: "Die Beziehung auf ein Ideal der Beredsamkeit tritt dort (i. e. in *De or.* and *Brutus*) nicht bestimmt hervor."

audientium et docet et delectat et movet (3). But this he conceives of as something which either is or has been or can be. It is not inquiry into the nature of an ideal. This appears from his answer in 13: quoniam Graecorum oratorum praestantissimi sint ei qui fuerint Athenis, eorum autem facile princeps Demosthenes, hunc si qui imitetur eum et Attice dicturum et optime. The optimus orator is realized in Demosthenes, who in the oratorical genus is optimus, just as Homer and Menander in their genera, or as Ennius Pacuvius Caecilius among Latin writers in their respective genera. Cicero has not yet arrived at, or at least does not here entertain, the conception of an ideal perfection, the conception which animates the Orator. If this had already been in his mind it would seem scarcely credible that an idea so dominating should nowhere emerge.

Turning now to a more detailed examination of the work, it will be most convenient to follow it through in sequence, noting the passages which seem to show excessive brevity and sketchiness, double versions, or obscurities such as can be clarified by interpretation. To start deliberately from such a point of view would be to expose oneself to the suspicion of finding examples where none exist. For myself, however, I may say that my conclusions concerning the nature of the treatise were merely an outgrowth and generalization from these particulars.

Note first of all the absence of any prooemium suggesting the circumstance or motive for the inquiry, the absence of dedication or of any personal explanation relative to the occasion of writing. It can scarcely be doubted in view of the other literary work of Cicero at this time, and especially in view of the active correspondence which went on between him and Brutus on questions of oratory and style, that the work if completed and published would have contained some such introductory matter. We may, I suspect, go further and believe that a completed work on this subject would have been dedicated to Brutus, who is the recipient of nearly all the writing of this period of Cicero's activity. For a translation planned primarily to show the supremacy of Demosthenes one can seem almost to catch a hint of the type of prefatory dedication which would have been natural at this time from *Orator* 110, where, addressing Brutus, he refers to Demosthenes, cuius nuper inter imagines tuas ac tuorum, quod eum credo amares, cum ad te in Tusculanum venissem, imaginem ex aere vidi.

The brevity of style, suggesting rough jottings, cannot better be illustrated than by the opening words:

Oratorum genera esse dicuntur tamquam poetarum; id secus est, nam alterum est multiplex.



The abruptness of this beginning requires no comment—the dryness of *secus*, the brevity of *alterum*, which Lambinus felt the necessity of expanding thus: *nam alterum est <simplex, alterum> multiplex*.

The sentence following has been the occasion of considerable doubt and refashioning on the part of editors. The view of Mommsen, whom Jahn follows, is apparent from the text presented by the latter, which has won no following. What others, who merely present the text as transmitted, have thought it is impossible to say, but from translations and hints of punctuation I suspect that for the most part the meaning has been misapprehended. The reason lies in excessive brevity.

Poematis enim tragici comici epici melici etiam ac dithyrambici quo magis est tractatum a Latinis suum quo ius est diversum a reliquis.

Manutius corrected *quo ius* to *cuiusque* and has been generally followed by subsequent editors. For the understanding of the sentence as a whole that which has been overlooked is, that with *poematis* some form of the word *genus*—*generibus* would suit grammatical congruence—is to be understood from the preceding sentence (*oratorum genera*), and that the words following, *tragici*, etc., are parenthetical epexegetis. For the manuscript reading *suum quo ius* I would read *suum cuique ius*,<sup>5</sup> and I would interpret the whole sentence as follows, indicating expansions of the thought for clearness by marks of parenthesis: *poematis enim (generibus), tragici . . . dithyrambici, quo magis est (poema) tractatum a Latinis, (eo magis intellectum est) suum cuique ius est (esse) diversum a reliquis*. Friedrich, whom Wilkins as usual follows, taking wrongly the clause *quo magis est tractatum* with *dithyrambici* alone, was led to bracket *a Latinis*; but obviously it belongs to the whole, i. e. *quo magis (poema) est tractatum*. The omission of the clause correlative with *quo magis* was easy enough for the author's notes, but is scarcely admissible in finished work. This general thought then of the difference in the genera of poetry is illustrated by brief examples: *itaque et in tragoedia comicum vitiosum est et in comedia turpe tragicum, et in ceteris suus est cuique certus sonus*—a phrase corresponding to *suum cuique ius* just above. Thereupon Cicero proceeds to the contrast of this situation in poetry with its many genera, and of oratory embraced in one. The balance of the opening antithesis—*oratorum genera, poematis enim*—makes it clear that *genera* (*poematis enim generibus*, as I have expanded it above) must be understood with *poematis*, and that the adjectives following, *tragici comici* etc., are not

<sup>5</sup> *ius* = νόμος. On the νόμος of poetry and music cf. Plut. de Musica 6 (1133 B) ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξήν παραβῆναι καθ' ἑκάστον νενομισμένον εἶδος (*suum cuique ius*). *Lex* is the more usual Latin equivalent, as in the Horatian *operis lex, legitimum poema*, etc. For *ius* cf. Quintil. 1, 5, 12 Ennius *poetico iure defenditur*; Cic. Tusc. 3, 20 *poeta ius suum tenuit et dixit audacius*; Quintil. Prooem. 23 *ius ipsum rhetorices*.

to be associated with it immediately as attributives, but as standing in illustrative apposition. Poema is of course 'poetry,' a usage current both in Greek and in Latin, just as *carmen* is at once 'a poem' and 'poetry.'<sup>a</sup>

Oratorem genere non dividc; perfectum enim quaero. Unum est autem genus perfecti, a quo qui absunt non genere differunt, ut Terentius ab Accio, sed in eodem genere non sunt pares (3).

The editors do not comment, but there is a brevity here also which is confusing and obscure. The reader off his guard (in common with most translators) is likely to take perfecti as neuter: it stands, however, for perfecti oratoris, but with suppressor of a preceding member which is essential to the thought. For from the preceding argument the idea emerges sharply that orators, whether good or bad, work in one genus, poets in many. The full expression therefore at this point would require some such supplement as this: unum est genus (et medioeris oratoris et) perfecti, a quo etc.

In several cases words are omitted with varying degrees of harshness. For example in 4 haec ut alius melius quam alius (sc. faciat), concedendum est. In 6 ea igitur in quo summa (sc. erunt, added by edd.), erit perfectissimus orator. In 21 non enim tam multa (sc. dixit, added by edd.) de rationibus etc. On the omission of the name of Demosthenes in 17 see below.

At the conclusion of the argument for the unity of the genus oratorium (as opposed to the diversity of genera in poetry), there is a serious defect of logical sequence in the text as transmitted, which I scarcely think can be laid to the account of Cicero, who up to this point has been uncommonly sharp and precise in his distinctions.

(All speakers, whether good bad or indifferent, are called orators, just as bad painters are still called painters. They differ from each other non generibus, sed facultatibus. Thus it is inconceivable that any orator should not wish to be like Demosthenes: but Menander did not wish to be like Homer; genus enim erat aliud.) Id non est in oratoribus, aut etiam si est ut alius gravitatem sequens subtilitatem fugiat, contra alius acutior se quam ornatior velit, etiam si est in genere tolerabili, certe non est in optimo (6).

But Cicero has just argued with great precision: oratorem genere non divido. He cannot therefore reasonably here speak of a genus tolerabile, and contrast it with a genus optimum. His meaning must be as above (3), in eodem genere non sunt pares. The one who has chosen

<sup>a</sup> See the passages collected by Marx ad Lucil. 338 (esp. Posidonius, at top of p. 130). In 3, 5, 4 ad Quirt. Frat. Cicero writes facerem tamen (versus), sed opus est ad poema quadam animi alacritate. But in Tusc. 4, 71 Anacreontis tota poesis est amatoria.

either *subtilitas* or *gravitas* as his style remains in the same genus to be sure, but by cultivating a part instead of the whole falls short of supreme excellence. This thought, which seems absolutely necessary, can be restored with very slight change thus: *etiam si est in genere tolerabilis* (i. e. differing from the best non *genere*, sed *gradu*), certe non est *optimus* (as these Atticists claim), si quidem quod habet omnis laudes id est optimum.<sup>7</sup>

Another passage of confusing brevity follows in the next section. Cicero has now completed his demonstration that we may not refer to the genera oratorum in the same sense as we speak of the genera poetarum. He now proceeds to use it for the further purposes of his argument.

Unum enim cum sit genus, id quale sit quaerimus.

But *quale* cannot here mean the attributes or character of the whole genus oratorum, but only of that manifestation of it which is optimum. This appears clearly from the words immediately following: *est autem tale quale floruit Athenis*. It would be absurd to say that the conception of the genus oratorum—a perfectly universal idea—was in any way confined to Athens. This statement is only true of the suppressed but qualifying predicate optimum, which Cicero has in his own mind so clearly that he overlooks the necessity of expressing it for the reader. The whole thought with its implications would have required some such expression as this: *unum enim cum sit genus (sive malorum sive mediocrium sive bonorum oratorum), quale sit (optimum) quaerimus*, i. e. at its best.

*Est autem tale quale floruit Athenis: ex quo Atticorum ipsa vis ignota est, nota gloria.*

Jahn comments: "ex quo ist nicht verständlich, da nichts vorhergegangen ist, woraus folgt, dass man die Attiker lobe ohne zu wissen welches ihre wahre Bedeutung sei. Entweder ist ex quo verderbt, oder es ist etwas ausgefallen." Heilicke apparently sought to remove the difficulty by reading *atqui*. But the difficulty very justly felt here is removed by the preceding observation. For *ex quo* depends upon the idea of excellence or supremacy of the Attic orators which is contained in optimum, the suppressed predicate of the preceding sentence. But some slight obscurity remains from the rhetorical inversion of *nota* and *ignota*. For clearness' sake I venture to paraphrase in the scholastic manner: *ex quo* (= *ex eo quod tale quod floruit Athenis optimum est*)

<sup>7</sup>The German translator C. A. Mebold (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1827), without indicating any change from the received text, renders exactly in accordance with the changes proposed: "so ist ein solcher vielleicht in seiner Art erträglich (= *tolerabilis*), auf keinen Fall aber ist er der beste (= *optimus*)."

Atticorum oratorum gloria est nota, ipsorum autem vis ac diversitas ignota.

In section 8 there are difficulties, some of which are to be set down to the account of Cicero, some to faulty punctuation of modern editors, in which the most modern, Friedrich and Wilkins, are the greatest sinners. The context of thought is that all the Attic orators have avoided faults of taste and style (but not all have risen beyond this to positive virtues).

- I Sed qui eatenus valuerunt, sani et sicci dumtaxat habeantur, sed ita ut palaestritae: spatiari in xysto ut (= though) liceat, non ab Olympiis coronam petant.

The expression is made emphatic by rhetorical asyndeton, omitting quibus between palaestritae and spatiari. They keep in condition by moderate exercise to be sure, but let them not aspire to an Olympian victory. This is the one type of plain, flawless Attic oratory especially cherished by the Roman Atticists. Over against them is the more robust type. The two classes are each introduced by *qui*; the second in contrast to the first, but very harshly without an adversative particle.

- II qui (autem), cum careant omni vitio (which they share in common with the preceding group), non sunt contenti quasi bona valetudine, sed viris lacertos sanguinem quaerunt, quandam etiam suavitatem coloris, eos imitemur si possumus; si minus, illos potius qui incorrupta sanitate sunt quod est proprium Atticorum—

This is the complete and logical thought: let us imitate the greater Attic models if we can, if not then the lesser ones. But Cicero has added here loosely a clause wholly irrelevant to his thought. The question is between different types of Attic oratory to serve as models, and for his present purpose it was wholly beside the mark to add the clause which follows—

quam eos quorum vitiosa abundantia est, qualis Asia multos tulit.

Within this sentence there is one phrase which I venture to consider an afterthought, or marginal jotting of Cicero himself: it is *quandam etiam suavitatem coloris*, which lags very tamely after the asyndetic group *viris lacertos sanguinem* and outside the verb, as if merely a reminder that delectare, of his definition of the optimus orator (in 3), had not been taken care of. At the beginning of this sentence I do not see how in finished composition we could dispense with *autem* to mark the strong contrast. As for the editors, like Friedrich and Wilkins, who do not even punctuate after *qui*, their conception of the passage is wholly unintelligible.

In section 11 Cicero addresses himself to two classes of opponents, (1) those who boast *se ipsos Attice dicere*, (2) those who maintain there are and can be no Roman Atticists—*neminem nostrum dicere*

(Attice). Of these the first group is doubtless represented by the followers and successors of Calvus (cf. Brutus 284 et ipse errabat et alios errare cogebat). They may be disposed of by popular neglect—cum non adhibeantur ad causas.<sup>8</sup> The second class is not so easy to define, but they are probably a group of hyper-Atticists, men of the type of C. Memmius (whose patronage Lucretius solicited) perfectus litteris, sed Graecis, fastidiosus sane Latinarum (Brutus 247).<sup>9</sup> These men did not profess to be considered orators themselves, and denied the predicate of Attic to others, assuming a superior role as critics, testing everything by an arrogant standard of Atticism which no Roman could meet. They would not have it that any Roman attained to the Attic manner: qui dici a nobis Attico more nolunt (MSS volunt. The early correction nolunt which has been generally followed, is absolutely necessary, though Friedrich, whom Wilkins as usual follows, reads volunt, but without explanation). In this same sentence adhibeantur should be read (with Manutius) balancing dicant and desinant which follow.

sin autem intelligentiam ponunt in audiendi fastidio, etc., (12).

The meaning of this may not be clear at first sight, since the hyper-criticism of these Atticists touches not only speakers like Cicero, but embraces also the great impassioned orators of the past like Demosthenes and Aeschines. Audiendi, that is, includes reading as well as hearing, like auditor (ὁ ἀκούων).

id vero desinant dicere, qui subtiliter dicant eos solos Attice dicere, id est quasi sicce et integre (12).

These last words are an ironical repetition of the epithets which the Atticists attached to their own ideal of style, as if no other possessed these attributes: quasi is not apologetic of the figurative usage (cf. 8 and Brutus 202), but is employed as giving the claims or words of another—quasi ei soli sicce et integre dicerent.

At the end of 13 occurs a conspicuous example of double version, where only one form can have been meant to remain. Continuing the argument of 12, concerning the false claim that subtilitas was the only

<sup>8</sup> Satis enim eis res ipsa responderet, cum aut non adhibeantur ad causas aut adhibiti derideantur; nam si riderentur, esset id ipsum Atticorum. Riderentur is certainly wrong, as Manutius saw, proposing arrideatur. But *rideretur* (impersonal), accommodated to esset, could stand. The meaning is: "for if they could raise a laugh (that is, had humor) that would be Attic." As it is, the laughter is all on the side of the audience—derideantur.

<sup>9</sup> To this class Cicero makes reply again in De fin. 1, 1 ff. erunt etiam, et ei quidem eruditi Graecis litteris, contemnentes Latinas, qui se dicant in Graecis legendis operam malle consumere. Cf. also section 4 *ibid.*, which is a re-working of De opt. gen. orat. 18.

true Attic quality, Cicero points out that *et ample et ornatè et copiose cum eadem integritate Atticorum est*. Our inquiry need not be confined to what is Attic, but seeks what is best. It is merely that the Attic orators afford guidance for attaining to that which is best.<sup>10</sup> Here then follow the two versions compressed awkwardly into a single sentence.

Ex quo intellegitur,

quoniam Græcorum oratorum  
præstantissimi sint ei qui fuerint  
Athenis, eorum autem princeps  
facile Demosthenes, hunc si qui  
imitetur, eum et Attice dic-  
turum et optime,

et quoniam Attici nobis propositi  
sunt ad imitandum, bene dicere  
id sit Attice dicere.

What I venture to consider the first version is contained in the second clause introduced by *quoniam*: "since the Attic orators have established a norm of good speaking for us to follow, whoever speaks well may be said to speak in the Attic manner." This is a formulation, somewhat paradoxically pointed, which Cicero had already presented in the *Brutus* 291: *ita fiet ut non omnes qui Attice, idem bene, sed ut omnes qui bene, idem etiam Attice dicant*. But this version, in the first instance taken over from the *Brutus*, Cicero modified and adapted to the present context. Since here the general inquiry is *de optimo oratore*, *bene dicere* is no longer sufficient: *iam quaerimus . . . quid sit optime dicere* (12 just before). This superlative, dominating the whole discussion, leads to others, and his final or revised version was in the form introduced by the first clause, concluding *eum et Attice dicturum et optime*.

The pointed phrase brought over from the *Brutus* has been dropped as irrelevant, and the thought appropriate to the present context is complete at this point. It suits better the preface to a translation from Demosthenes to say that the one who imitates him will speak at once Attic and supremely. But in our texts the first version (printed here in the second column) has been tacked on at the end of the second or revised form. It is introduced (in our editions) with an obscure *ut* which does not properly depend upon anything, but which must be thought of as intended to reach back, with dubious grammar,<sup>11</sup> to *intellegitur*. But here appears a curious circumstance, which if not perhaps a confirmation of my explanation, should at least have provoked inquiry: *ut* is not the reading either of the St. Gall MS (11 cent.), nor of P (assigned to the same time), but *utrus utrum*, respectively, readings which Wilkins does not note. The remaining MSS (15 cent.)

<sup>10</sup> Without such guidance no progress could be expected: *quando enim nobis . . . postea quidem quam fuit quem imitarentur, ullus orationis vel copiosae vel elegantis ornatus defuit?* (*De fin.* 1, 10).

<sup>11</sup> Hedicke corrects *ut . . . sit*, to *utique . . . est*.

correct variously *verum, ut, ut is* (as reported by Friedrich). *Utrus* (*utrum*) is certainly peculiar, a *lectio difficilis*, unintelligible but probably preserved conscientiously from an earlier source. It is with no confidence, but in lieu of better that I venture to suggest that it may represent *utrum* (like *πότερον*), a marginal query as to which of the two versions should stand in the text.

In 17 Cicero introduces his two orators (I give the text as printed in Wilkins).

Aeschines, tamquam Aeserius, ut ait Lucilius, non spurcus homo, sed acer et doctus

cum Pacideiano hic componitur,—optimus longe post homines natos—.

Nihil enim illo oratore arbitror cogitari posse divinius.

A more obscurely constituted text it would be difficult to imagine, at least on the assumption that marks of punctuation are meant as guides to the reader. A plain sequence of words as in an ancient manuscript would at least leave the reader free to follow the necessary relations. As the text stands everything apparently refers to Aeschines, which is manifestly impossible. There should be a strong mark of punctuation after *doctus*, as the resumptive *hic* indicates. *Hic* is not a part of the quotation, but is at once resumptive and points the antithesis to the following *illo*. *Optimus longe* refers of course to Pacideiano. The comparison requires it, and yet without the relative which Lucilius used the relation is scarcely intelligible. The passage of Lucilius, preserved by Nonius (Marx 149), reads as follows:

cum Pacideiano componitur, optimus multo post homines natos gladiator qui fuit unus.

Here the relative pronoun, though inverted, makes the relation of *optimus* perfectly clear. It seems to me therefore probable that Cicero meant to insert the whole line (merely indicating thus the desired quotation) and add the name of Demosthenes, which we can scarcely dispense with. He then continued: *nihil enim illo oratore etc.*

Section 18 is very imperfectly worked out. Cicero distinguishes two kinds of censure, but the distinction is not sharp.

Unum hoc: 'verum melius Graeci.' A quo quaeratur eequid possint ipsi melius Latine?

The editors do not annotate, but the thought must be: *verum melius haec tractaverunt Graeci*—that is, you cannot improve on the treatment of the theme by the Greek authors. The objection seems irrelevant for a translation, but perhaps Cicero has in mind the freedom of manner with which Roman comic poets, for instance, handled their Greek originals. There of course it would be quite conceivable that a Roman poet might better a Greek original—as Shakespeare tried (unsuccess-

fully) to better Plautus. The reply is likewise obscure. Who are the ipsi? Surely the only possible answer is these same critics. Could they do any better in putting the speeches into Latin?—a lame reply if the question referred to the treatment of the subject. However, I am open to instruction on my understanding, or lack of understanding, of the passage. Curcio at all events seems wide of the mark in explaining ipsi with Aeschines et Demosthenes (p. 184).

The second reprehensio is not independent of the first, but merely a corollary of it.

Alterum: 'quid istas potius legam quam Graecas?'

This of course represents the standpoint of the Graeco-maniacs, like Memmius above, fastidiosi litterarum Latinarum, who were already beginning that neglect of Roman adaptations from Greek drama, which was nearly complete a century later.<sup>12</sup> But Cicero, from his standpoint of veneration for the old classical Roman dramatists, chooses in the following to ignore this modern tendency, and assumes as the hinge of his analogical argument that all men still read their comedies and tragedies in the Latin versions of the previous century. The analogical illustration which follows lies before us in two versions, one more general by names of poets, the other more specific by names of familiar plays.

Idem Andriam et Synephebos nec minus Terentium et Caecilium  
quam Menandrum legunt nec Andromacham aut Antiopam aut  
Epigonos Latinos recipiunt sed tamen Ennium et Pacuvium et  
Accium potius quam Euripidem et Sophoclem legunt.

The modern editors by liberal use of brackets have restored a legible text, assuming that the names of poets are marginal notes which have become interpolated. But there is one clear indication that this is not the case in the preservation of sed tamen before the Roman tragic poets. This seems to me clearly the beginning of Cicero's counter-argument. Merely by way of illustration I would suggest that the original version ran as follows: Quid istas potius legam quam Graecas? Sed tamen Ennium et Pacuvium et Accium potius quam Euripidem et Sophoclem legunt; idem Terentium et Caecilium nec minus quam Menandrum (legunt). This form I should conjecture was then pointed more sharply by the introduction of names of plays, whether to take the place of names of poets or to be added to them, but it was only indicated, not finished. The whole passage was then a little later re-worked in the preface to the *De finibus* (1, 4), where both forms are merged into one, and the whole illustration has received elaboration beyond this outline.

<sup>12</sup> For example Horace uses Terence's version of the *Eunuchus* of Menander (Serm. 2, 3, 260), Persius the original (5, 161). Cf. Quintilian's remark in *comœdia maxime claudicamus*, with the older estimates there cited (10, 1, 99).



From the preceding examination of detailed passages, as well as from the general consideration advanced at the beginning, I would draw these conclusions: (1) That the translations were never made, or at least never completed. (2) That for this reason the preface itself was never finished for publication, nor issued for circulation. (3) That it is a hurried first draft, marked in places by obscure brevity and mere suggestion of treatment, and that in two instances at least we can still discern double versions of the same point.

As for the date, I would place it between the *Brutus* and the *Orator*, that is in the spring or summer of 46. It contains matter already worked out in the *Brutus*, but does not betray some important ideas entertained in the *Orator*. Thus for example the formulation *cum bene, idem Attice dicunt* is apparently worked out from historical considerations in *Brutus* 290-91, and appears again in our treatise. Compare also *ad quod iudicium concursus dicitur e tota Græcia factus esse* with *Brutus* 290. That it falls before the *Orator* I have argued chiefly from the fact that the notion of the ideal orator, standing above any historical record, is not suggested, and therefore was scarcely as yet entertained. Furthermore the sharp distinction of oratory, as embraced in a single genus, from poetry, is abandoned in the *Orator*. The point of view from which our treatise proceeds is a step beyond the *Brutus*, but has not yet attained to the notion of an abstract ideal. He seeks to define an *optimus orator* by historical example (such as Aeschines or Demosthenes), but not a Platonic *idéa*, the orator. In the *Brutus* 201 he said: *quoniam ergo bonorum oratorum—hos enim quaerimus—duo genera sunt, unum attenuate pressequæ, alterum sublate ampleque dicentium, etsi id melius est quod splendidius et magnificentius, tamen in bonis omnia quæ summæ sunt iure laudantur*. Here the relations may be defined as two genera, of which one is *bonus*, the other *melior*. In our treatise, however, the two genera are dropped for *unum genus*, the perfect manifestation of which is *optimus orator*.

Up to this point Cicero had developed his theory in the treatise before us, with the plan of exemplifying his *optimus orator* by concrete illustrations. Now, however, he came upon the larger conception of an ideal orator transcending any human

experience. He laid aside the sketchy outline which he had made to accompany his translation of Demosthenes and Aeschines, and proceeded to the execution of this larger task in the *Orator*.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

NEW HAVEN,

## UT CLAUSES

### PART II.

#### IV. ANTECEDENT *Ut* CLAUSES.

In many ways not unlike the *ut* clauses used parenthetically, and yet in other ways entirely distinct, is a group which may be called antecedent *ut* clauses. The term is not rigidly logical, for some of the interjected clauses expressed thoughts, acts, or states anterior to those expressed by the sentences into which they were interjected. On the whole however, they were a comment of one sort or another on the main sentence and as such were independent of any influence that might be exerted by the relative time of the concept which they expressed. The clauses in the present group are distinguished by the fact that they do not express any comment on another clause but are an integral part of the narrative. In this they are like the "subsequent clauses" to be discussed later. But there is one fact which makes them more like the parenthetical clauses: they are non-essential to the clause with which they are associated. There is no element in the associated clause which demands completion, the satisfaction of the demand being found in the *ut* clause. They are steps in the narrative and hence add essential content to the whole context but, if they were omitted, the remaining sentences would be logically and syntactically complete.

The other point, that these clauses are narrative clauses, gives to them a character distinct from that of the parentheses: there is nothing of tone modification or of explanation in their function; they contain a definite advance step in the narrative context. *Huc ut rediit, rex factus est* (Nep. Hann. 7. 4) is a typical example. *Rex factus est* is a complete statement in itself with no element of incompleteness to be satisfied by another clause. On the other hand, *ut rediit* does not give it any particular shade of tone or any explanation. It states an immediately antecedent fact.

A further characterization of these clauses and one, of course, that is to be expected in such direct narrative, is that the verb is always in the indicative and in a past tense.

It is to be noted at this point that the *ut* clause in all such instances always comes first. Also to be noted is the usage in cases of rapid discourse by which successive acts are stated without mechanical marks of connection. *Veni, vidi, vici* was a rhetorical expression when it was used to mark the rapidity of Caesar's Pontic triumph, but it was a perfectly natural and at one time regular method of expressing a succession of events. The natural sequence was quite sufficient to express the relation of clauses and, throughout the history of the literature, the locution without conjunctions was frequently employed.

There is however a distinction observable between the instances of rapid narrative without connecting particles of any sort and narrative with the antecedent clause marked by *ut*. The former depict simply a rapid sequence of events: *ipsum invadunt, saxa iaciunt, fugientem secuntur* (Tac. Hist. II. 29. 2); *introduxi Volturcium sine Gallis; fidem publicam iussu senatus dedi; hortatus sum* etc. (Cic. In Cat. III. 4. 8). A new element enters with the addition of *ut*: the event described in the second clause *immediately* follows that recounted in the first. The *ut* seems to mark the action of its clause as *immediately* antecedent to the action of the other. It may very likely be the same difference as that between *ut eat* and *eat* as commands. *Rediit, rex factus est* is not very much different from *ut rediit, rex factus est*. The difference seems to be that in the one case there are two acts depicted as in rapid succession; in the other the two acts are depicted, one as following directly out of the other.

The construction was not extensively used in Plautus and Terence but is familiar enough in all periods of Latin. It is most obvious and understandable when used with verbs of motion in which the succession of events is clear. Nep. Cato, 1. 2: *inde ut rediit, castra secutus est C. Claudii Neronis*. Tac. Ann. IV. 2. 3: *ut perfecta sunt castra irrepere paulatim militares animos adeundo appellando*. Pl. Capt. 478: *nam uti dudum hinc abii, accessi ad adulescentes in foro*. One instance in Plautus illustrates well, by the addition of *continuo* to the second clause, the sense of immediateness already noted and made still more obvious here by the *ubi* clause: *principio ut illo advenimus, ubi primum terram tetigimus, continuo Amphitruo delegit viros*. (Amph. 203.)

Once familiar, the construction could be used with less obvious instances of sequence, instances in which the verbs are not verbs of motion. Very often the sense of procedure is just as obvious. Pl. Epid. 14: *nam ut apud portum te conspexi, curriculo occepi sequi*. Cic. Ad Q. Fr. II. 3. 2: *qui ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius*. Livy, III. 10. 9: *ut haec dicta in senatu sunt, dilectus edicitur*. Here, too, an adverb may be used to stress the idea of immediateness: *itaque, simul ut experrecti sumus, visa illa contemnimus*. (Cic. Acad. II. 16. 51.)

A certain extension of this use is discernible coming in through emphasis placed on the first verb as a point of departure, on the second as describing a continuous action. The emphasis is marked by the supplementary use of *primum*. Pl. Epid. 600: *qui illam, ut primum vidi, numquam vidi postea*. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 19. 1: *ut primum Velia navigare coepi, institui Topica Aristotelea conscribere*. The same tone is obtained without the *primum* in Cic. Ad Att. I. 15. 2: *ut Brundisio profectus es, nullae mihi abs te sunt redditae litterae*. The difference is usually stated to be the difference that is marked in English between "when" and "since." This is not altogether accurate. Whether emphasized by *primum* or not, the *ut* clause marks the complete antecedent action, the point of departure for the action of the other clause. This may be more or less emphatically marked. The nature of the subsequent clause alone determines whether the subsequent action is looked on as continuous from the close of the antecedent action, that is, whether the *ut* clause conveys the sense of the English "when," "as soon as," or "since."

There are some instances in which the *ut* is reinforced by a *tum* in the subsequent clause. This does not, I think, essentially change the clause relations. The lexicon says that *ut* is used "rarely of coincidence in time," and gives as an illustration Pl. Cist. 710: *nam dudum ut accurrimus ad Alcesimarchum, ne se vita intereretur, tum eam mi puto prae timore excidisse*. But the text is bad and the sense is very probably the same as that in similar *ut* clauses not followed by *tum*, with the single difference that the attention is focussed more on the subsequent clause. This is supported by similar instances. Cic. De Or. II. 34. 146: *neque, ut quaeque res delata ad nos erit, tum denique scrutari locos (debemus)*. Livy, XXI. 54.

9: *ut vero . . . aquam ingressi sunt . . . tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora.*

I have noted only one exception to the statement made above that the *ut* clauses of this type always precede the clause with which they are logically associated. The case is Cic. Ad Att. II. 12. 4, and it is entirely explicable. It reads: *litteras scripsi hora decima Cerialibus, statim ut tuas legeram.* The addition of the *statim* helps to prevent any ambiguity and the use of the pluperfect tense, which alone would naturally indicate an antecedent act, prevents any ambiguity. It would not be at all surprising if there were other instances of *ut* clauses of this type following their associated clauses, for, once the usage was familiar, nothing would be more natural than its extension in this way.

#### V. COINCIDENT *Ut* CLAUSES.

The preceding chapters have dealt with *ut* clauses that were non-essential to the other sentences with which they found themselves in contact. In the first group they were entirely independent sentences, so far as any sentence in continuous discourse can be independent. In the second, they were injected parenthetically into otherwise complete sentences, without any adjustment being made in those sentences to provide for them; in other words, without any sign in these sentences of their intrusion, anything that anticipated them and so made them logically essential. In the third group, the *ut* clause contained an essential part of the narrative context, but it was not in any way anticipated or referred to by an incompleteness in the associated clauses.

The group of clauses under consideration in the present chapter differs in this respect from all of the preceding groups. The *ut* clause itself is often different in ways that will be noted, but the most obvious distinction between these instances and those that have already been discussed lies in the associated clause.

In the earlier chapters instances have been noted from time to time in which the insertion of a word in the associated clause has given to it a suggestive incompleteness. This has always been however a supplementary means of expressing the relation

and has been noted as an extension leading to the border line between groups.

A second characteristic distinctive of this group is the fact that the thought, action, or state expressed in the *ut* clause is contemporaneous with that expressed by the associated clause. The two are coincident. This gives to the pair of clauses a balance which is not found in the other groups, a balance which seems to be marked by the *ut . . . ita*.

The *ut* clause regularly though not universally precedes the associated clause, resembling in this the antecedent type, but, unlike the cases of that type, the instances in the present group very rarely show a verb which expresses definite motion or action. When there is such a verb, the relationship is not altogether clear until the second clause is read and the *ita* or similar word defines it. For example, on reading Cic. De Or. II. 65. 261: *ut sementem feceris*, at least without the context, it would be perfectly possible to take it as an antecedent clause. The following *ita metes*, however, makes this impossible and marks the balance, somewhat rhetorical in this case, intended by the writer.

This illustration makes clear also another point. There is not absolute coincidence of time in these two clauses: the sowing comes before the reaping. The usage however had become familiar and, for rhetorical purposes, Cicero desired to give to the clauses a certain fictitious coincidence in order to emphasize the essential parallel between the sowing and the reaping. The same thing is seen in the Ad Herennium, II. 31. 50: *Haec si, ut conquisite conscripserimus, ita tu diligenter fueris consecutus* etc. The coincidence of time, so far as it really exists, exists in the mind of the writer who considers the two processes as co-existent before his observation.

It should be noticed, in the illustration just cited, that, without the *ita* in the *si* clause, this clause would have nothing to make essential the *ut* clause. So far as the latter was concerned, the *si* clause would be complete. The *ut* clause would then be almost exactly like the parenthetical clauses. Perhaps a more obvious example of this would be Cic. Pro Caecin. 7. 18: *ut viro forti ac sapienti dignum fuit, ita calumniam . . . eius obtrivit*. Here is a clause exactly like some of those that were considered to be parenthetical, the difference in usage arising

from the *ita* in the associated clause. It has already been noted that *ita* was sometimes added to *ut* in the parentheses. From this point of view, therefore, the present instances seem to be an extension of the parenthetical type. In either case, whether they resemble the parenthetical or the antecedent instances, the clauses in the present group are primarily distinguished by this factor outside themselves, the incompleteness of the associated clause. This characteristic marks an extension in the direction of subordination. Finally, the usage is so rare as to be almost negligible in Plautus and Terence although it appears as early as the Laws of the Twelve Tables: *uti legassit super pecunia tutelave suae rei, ita ius esto*. One or two instances in Plautus that resemble the type are really, I think, different. Most. 1034: *haec res sic est ut narro tibi*. The *ut* clause here seems to be epexegetical, the *ut narro tibi*, confirming the statement that Theopropides has already made and which he repeats in the next line. The same is perhaps true of Men. 982: *ego ita ero ut me esse oportet*. Messenio has already stated the qualities referred to in *ita ero*. But it is more likely that this case is complicated by the parallelism that is introduced for the sake of the song: *alii sei ita ut in rem esse ducunt sint, ego ita ero ut me esse oportet*. In splitting apart the *ita ut* Plautus approaches a different usage. Except for a few instances of this sort the only use made of this type by Plautus and Terence is in the *ita me di ament ut* group of sentences which will be discussed later.

In writers of the later periods the *ita . . . ut* order rarely occurs and then seems to mark an extension of the parenthetical usage by the addition of another pointer. The relation is left quite uncertain until the *ut* clause is reached: Cic. Pro Leg. Man. 9. 22: *Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur*. Cic. Pro Planc. 11. 27: *sic ab illo gravissimo . . . viro dilectus est, ut . . . contubernii necessitudo . . . postulabat*. The kind of clause which will satisfy the incompleteness of the *sic* clauses is in doubt until determined by the *ut* clause.

The clauses of contemporaneous state or action divide themselves naturally into two groups. Part of them present a parallelism between the two clauses and part of them a contrast. There would seem to be no altogether colourless cases.



Whether the effect given is one of similarity or contrast, is determined by other elements within the clauses, repetition of content or function or order, abrupt change, and the like, but the *ut . . . ita* primarily mark the clauses as conspicuously coincident.

A few instances will be enough to illustrate the commonest type of parallel clauses. Cic. In M. Ant. II. 22. 55 *ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic huius luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti*. Cic. Pro Rosc. 14. 40: *nam ut illud incredibile est . . . sic hoc veri simile non est*. Tac. Ann. XV. 21. 6: *nam ut metu repetundarum infracta avaritia est, ita vetita gratiarum actione ambitio cohibetur*. Liv. I. 53. 1: *nec ut iniustus in pace rex ita dux belli pravus fuit*.

This last instance shows a method frequently employed to make the parallel more obvious, namely the use of a single verb for the two clauses. Compare Cic. In M. Ant. II. 22. 55: *ut Helena Troianis, sic iste hunc rei publicae . . . causa pestis . . . fuit*. Pliny, Epist. I. 20. 3: *utque corpori ferrum, sic oratio animo non ictu magis quam mora inprimitur*. Pliny, Epist. I. 20. 4: *Et hercule ut Alcæ Ionæ res ita bonus liber melior est quisque quo maior*. It is furthermore possible to omit a large part of the repeated content in the second clause leaving it to be inferred from the first by the use of *sic*: Nep. Milt. 6. 2: *ut enim populi Romani honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues ob eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi atque obsoleti, sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus*.

The particles *ita* and *sic* are the ones most commonly used but they are not the only ones. For example: Ad Heren. III. 24. 40: *non enim, sicut ceteris studiis abducimur nonnumquam occupatione, item ab hac re nos potest causa deducere aliqua*. This instance illustrates also the additional force added by the use of *sicut*.

When the usage was thoroughly familiar, the correlating particle could be omitted. It is however difficult in any particular case to say whether this is the explanation or whether there is simply an extension of the parenthetical clause. For example, Tac. Ann. III. 6. 3 furnishes an instance in which the parallelism seems strong and which, considering the writer's fondness for such rhetorical effects, may very probably be an instance of the omission of an *ita* or *sic*. On the

other hand, the main clause is quite complete by itself and the *ut* clause may readily be taken as a long parenthesis. The sentence is in indirect discourse: *sed referendum iam animum ad firmitudinem, ut quondam divus Iulius amissa unica filia, ut divus Augustus ereptis nepotibus abstruserint tristitiam*. It really makes no essential difference whether the phrase came about in one way or the other, so closely are the two related. It is however worth noting for it throws light on the instances ordinarily classified simply, as "*ut* with nouns." In almost every instance of this sort it is clear that in reality a parallel was in the mind of the writer, not expressed in detail but similar to the instances already cited in which part of the parallel is understood and in which no anticipatory particle is employed. Sen. Vit. Beat. 26. 7 *et ipsam (i. e. virtutem) ut deos, ac professores eius ut antistites colite*. Nep. Att. 16: *Cicero ea . . . quae nunc usu veniunt cecinit ut vates*. Cic. De Rep. I. 34. 52: *suam vitam ut legem praeferat suis civibus*.

Another category ordinarily accepted in the lexicons is that of *ut* with *si* clauses, usually spoken of as clauses with *ut si*. As a matter of fact such instances seem to fall under the present grouping, the *si* clause being simply one form of sentence employed in the parallelism, clauses that often might readily be displaced by a noun used as in the instances just cited. It will perhaps make the usage clear to notice first a few instances with an anticipatory particle, then one or two without. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 20. 1: *Rufio tuus ita desiderabatur ut si esset unus e nobis*. Ter. Eun. 116: *mater ubi accepit, coepit studiose omnia docere, educere, ita uti si esset filia*. Cic. Ad Q. Fr. I. 1. 6. 17: *ita se gerant in istis Asiaticis itineribus ut si iter Appia via faceres*. Compare Cic. De Senect. 6. 17: *similes sunt ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant*. Without the anticipatory particle: Cic. De Off. I. 40. 145: *ut si qui in foro cantet*. Quint. XII. 5. 2: *ut si des arma timidus et imbellibus*.

A further variation consists in the use of *ut quisque* which makes a distribution of the parts of the subject (or object), a distribution which is paralleled by the details of the associated clause. This is well illustrated by Ter. Adelph. 399: *ut quisque suum vult esse itast*. The *quisque* implies an analysis and the associated clause furnishes parallels to the analyzed parts. The

same thing may be accomplished with other means. *Quisque* is not the only word that implies a distribution of parts, as is clear from such a case as Ter. Hec. 380; *omnibus nobis ut res dant sese, ita magni atque humiles sumus*. Most frequently, an adjective in the superlative or comparative is used in the *ut* clause to denote gradation, but this is not essential: Cic. Ad Q. Fr. I. 1. 4. 12: *ut quisque est vir optimus, ita difficillime esse alios improbos suspicatur*. Cic. De Senect. 18. 64: *ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet*. Livy IX. 6. 1: *ut quisque gradu proximus erat, ita ignominiae obiectus*. Pl. Men. 522: *satine, uti queraque conspicio, ita me ludificant?* In the following example the *primum* makes a slight variation but no essential difference in type: Auct. Ad Heren. I. 9. 15: *rem dilucide narrabimus si, ut quicquid primum gestum erit, ita primum exponemus*. There are also clear cases of this distributive usage without *ut*. Pl. Amph. 241: *quisque ut steterat, iacet, optinetque ordinem*. Ter. Hec. 802: *itaque ineptus hodie dum illi sedeo, ut quisque venerat, accedebam*. Especially interesting is this last example for it approaches the antecedent type; so closely in fact that it is hard to say whether the time element is not more prominent than the parallelism. In this respect it is exactly like the extensions of the antecedent type already noted which approach the coincident type and in which *ut . . . tum* so emphasizes the element of balance as to cloud somewhat the element of time.

The only type of balanced clauses that occurs with any frequency in Plautus and Terence is a rather specialized one. Furthermore the *ita* clause comes first and makes it somewhat doubtful whether the inclusion of these clauses in the present classification is correct. The *ita* clause contains a subjunctive regularly in the third person with the name of some god or superior power as the subject. This gives to the clause at once the tone of imprecation. The person may change to the second and other sorts of subject may take the place of the gods but the tone of imprecation remains. Ter. Ph. 808 furnishes a typical instance: *at ita me servet Iuppiter, ut propior illi quam ego sum ac tu homo remost*. The effect produced by the *ita* clause is quite like that produced when *ita* with the indicative preceded the *ut* clause. The judgment is left in suspense, as a result of the logically incomplete *ita*, with regard to the sort

of relation that the next clause will express. When it comes, the *ut* clause expresses a parallelism which practically amounts to a condition. The fact referred to in the *ut* clause may be past, present or future, but the imprecation is contingent always on the truth of the statement made and that is coincident in the mind of the speaker with the invoked blessing or curse. For example. Pl. Cas. 452: *Ita ne di bene ament, ut ego viæ reprimo labra*. Pl. Curc. 208: *Ita ne Venus amet, ut ego te hoc triduom numquam sinam in domo esse istac* etc. Ter. Hec. 579: *verum ita me di ament . . . uti numquam sciens commerui* etc. Entirely like these examples is Ter. Heaut. 1030, with the second person in the imprecation *ita mihi atque huic sis superstes, ut tu ex me atque hoc natus es*. Finally, the imprecation passes over into a simple future of strong assertion. This is natural, for these clauses always express the strongest sort of asseveration. Pl. Curc. 326: *ita me amabit, quam ego amo, ut ego hau mentior*. Ter. Heaut. 749: *Ita me di amabunt, ut nunc Menedemi vicem miseret me*.

Obviously, in all these instances of imprecations, the *ut* clause is complete without the *ut*, and the associated clause without the *ita*. The two particles are added, each to its respective clause, to make obvious a relation which is understandable but not at once obvious without them. The incompleteness caused by the *ita* in the first clause is clearly a step in the direction of logical and hence of syntactical subordination. A rather curious case occurs in Terence (Hec. 253) in which other elements entering in have brought it about that, as ordinarily interpreted, there is no *ut* in the clause following the imprecation. The sentence reads: *at ita me di ament, haud tibi concedo, etsi illi pater es, ut tu illam salvam magis velis quam ego*. The meaning is absolutely clear. As a matter of fact, however, the statement that logically follows the imprecation would normally be *ut non magis vis*. An additional item has been added, giving a somewhat stronger tone, the negative has been absorbed in that (*haud tibi concedo*), and the *ut* clause becomes, under the influence of the *concedo*, a "subsequent" clause of a type to be considered later.

The instances of coincident clauses which show contrast with their associated clauses instead of parallelism exhibit all the familiar devices for indicating contrast. It will not be neces-

sary to illustrate these at any great length but merely to recall the character of contrasted sentences in general. They contain usually certain words which are inherently contrasted by their essential meaning, such as *virtus* and *vitium*. This inherent semantic contrast is capable of wide extension, for the context frequently gives to words a contrast not necessarily inherent in their meaning. The expression of a negative statement, especially if, at first glance, it appears somewhat irrelevant, followed by a positive statement, often points a contrast, and the reverse order may at times give the same effect. Contrasted adverbs may be inserted to mark contrast and certain conjunctions developed from adverbs retained this as their chief function. From a few examples it will be clear that these devices are effective in the clauses at present under discussion. Nep. Paus. 1. 1: *nam ut virutibus eluxit, sic vitis est obrutus*. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 13. 2: *et illud erat molestum, sic hoc est iucundum*. Tac. Ann. XIV. 45. 1: *Sententiae Cassii ut nemo unus contra ire ausus est, ita dissonae voces respondebant etc.* Quint. IX. 3. 39: *ut haec in unum congeruntur, ita contra illa dispersa sunt*. Livy, XXI. 3. 1: *ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum . . . nihil cessatum*.

The use of one verb only with the two clauses serves to bind them somewhat more closely together, as was the case with parallel clauses, and so to mark more plainly the coincidence. Tac. Agr. 6: *ut longe a luxuria, ita famae propior*. Quint. IX. 2. 91: *ut non demens, crudelis certe videatur*. This was a favorite device with Tacitus. The last example shows *certe* used in place of *sic* or *ita*. It will be recalled that *certe* is not infrequently used as an indicator of contrast.

Sometimes the *ut* is doubled for emphasis, in which case the contrast is strong enough to express connection without the *ita*, or some other more specifically contrasting particle is used. Pl. Bacch. 1191: *Age iam, id ut ut est, etsi est dedecori, patiar*. Pl. Amph. 1100: *iam istuc gaudco, ut ut me erga merita est*. This instance shows a close approximation to the exclamatory question and suggests one line of approach to the present type. Ter. Ph. 531: *sed ut ut haec sunt, tamen hoc faciam*. Pl. Ps. 310: *ut ut est, mihi quidem profecto cum istis dictis mortuost*.

There is left the most interesting type of contrasted clauses, those in which the verb of the *ut* clause is in the subjunctive.

A caution is at once necessary: the subjunctive has nothing to do with the *ut*; it is a subjunctive of will. The *ut* may primarily be the same as that used with independent subjunctives of will giving to them an added element of immediateness, but it has, in actual practise, the further function of marking the contrast. The other side of this contrast is frequently marked by *tamen* or *certe*. *Ita* and *sic* do not occur but the expression of relation is otherwise fundamentally the same. The contrast is most regularly between what is granted or admitted in the subjunctive clause and what is true in spite of something apparently paradoxical. The clauses are balanced but the element of contrast is, to a certain degree, less obvious, and is therefore regularly reinforced by a conjunction or adverb.

The following examples will indicate the type. Cic. Tusc. Disp. I. 39. 94: *nihil est . . . prudentia dulcius, quam, ut cetera auferat, adfert certe senectus*. Cic. Ad Att. II. 15. 2: *verum ut hoc non sit, tamen . . . praeclurum spectaculum mihi propono*. Quint. III. 8. 25: *ut dura videatur appellatio, tamen sola est*. Cic. Tusc. Disp. I. 8. 16: *ut enim non efficias quod vis, tamen mors ut malum non sit efficias*. The two following cases show no particle in the second clause; they are, however, marked by obvious and familiar signs of contrast. Cic. De Nat. Deor. III. 16. 41: *sed ut haec concedantur, reliqua qui tandem . . . intellegi possunt?* Petron. 45: *ut quadringenta impendat, non sentiet patrimonium illius*. Finally an instance in the first person subjunctive produces the same effect: Livy, XXXVI. 7. 20: *qui, ut non omnis peritissimus sine belli, cum Romanis certe bellare bonis malisque meis dicāci*.

Fully to appreciate the significance of the clauses of this type, it is necessary to consider one or two similar examples without any *ut*. Cicero furnishes a typical instance in De Nat. Deor. I. 24. 68: *sint sane ex atomis, non igitur aeterni*. The *sane* marks the clause as the beginning of a contrast. This is often supported by a conjunction in the second clause. Quint. I. 12. 8: *mirum sit forsitan, sed experimentis deprehendas*. Sen. De Otio, 7. 2: *sit sane grande discrimen, tamen alterum sine altero non est*.

Clearly the relation is expressed fundamentally by the contrast. The *ut* is an additional guide, perhaps simply empha-

sizing the force of the subjunctive. The clause, whether with *ut* or without, has a logical incompleteness inasmuch as it cannot be taken as the expression of a literal command, and this incompleteness is the first step toward subordination. Probably by analogy the subjunctive mode and the *ut* accompanying it, had an influence in developing from this construction the subordinate clause which we call concessive.

#### VI. SUBSEQUENT *Ut* CLAUSES.

There remains one category of *ut* clauses to be studied. It is, however, by far the largest group of all, embracing roughly two-thirds of the *ut* clauses in Plautus and Terence and four-fifths of those in Cicero. It comprises all of the clauses with *ut* in which the *ut* clause does not stand independent of other clauses and expresses a state, action, or idea subsequent to that expressed by the verb in the associated clause.

In all of the instances in this category the verb is in the subjunctive mode, but once more it must be emphasized that the reason for the subjunctive is not, except gradually and by analogy, the *ut*. It is always clear that the subjunctive is by origin one of the types of subjunctive that we have considered which occurred independently of other clauses.

One general division of the clauses within this category is possible at once. It is convenient and at the same time illuminating to consider first those *ut* clauses used with an associated clause whose verb is logically incomplete. Afterwards, it will be easier, in the light of these, to take up the *ut* clauses associated with clauses that are logically complete. Within the first subdivision it will be safest and most effectual to classify the instances according to the meaning of the verb used in the incomplete associated clause.

First of all, there is a considerable group of cases in which the verb of the associated clause expresses some degree of design or will, ranging from wish to direct order. The group includes verbs of wishing, requesting, advising, warning, permitting, ordering. These verbs seem originally to have been inserted as a comment on the *ut* clause with the purpose of giving tone to its meaning just as *ut* clauses were found to be inserted for the

same purpose into otherwise complete sentences. Almost all of them are used in precisely the same way with subjunctive clauses that have no *ut*. These latter have been thoroughly collected for Plautus by Morris (*The Subjunctive in Independent Sentences in Plautus*, A. J. P. XVIII (1899), Nos. 70, 71, 72) from whose lists many of the present parallel examples have been drawn. Throughout, the subjunctive clause, with or without *ut*, expresses the general idea of will to which precision is given by the interjected clause.

Verbs of willing are perhaps the simplest to consider first. We have seen in Cato numerous instances like *uti introeas* (R. R. I. 2) and *uti imperet* (II. 6), which were paralleled by cases without the *ut*, e. g., *sub radice montis siet, in meridiem spectet* (I. 3). The addition of an interjected verb of willing merely strengthens the force of the injunction and specifies the origin of the notion of will. Ter. And. 418: *uxorem ducas . . . volo*, and Pl. Bacch. 988a: *volo ut . . . facias* are typical of the two types, with and without *ut*, used with the simple first person present of the verb of willing. This usage is frequent in all stages of the language. Cic. In Vatin. 7.17: *volo uti mihi respondeas*. Ter. Hec. 262: *eo domum studeo haec prius quam ille ut redeat*. Pl. Bacch. 77: *ut ille te videat, volo*.

In the drama, as in real conversation, the verb of willing may be implied from the question of another speaker. Pl. Aul. 351: *quid vis?:: hos ut accipias coquos*. Pl. Men. 328: *numquid vis?:: ut eas mazumam malam cracem*.

Little if any change is discoverable, except in the tone of the comment, when the subjunctive takes the place of the simple indicative in the associated clause. Pl. Most. 632: *velim quidem hercle ut uno nummo plus petas*. Nor does the person of the commenting verb appear significant: Cic. Pro Quint. 10.34: *tibi instat Hortensius ut eas in consilium*.

There is, however, a real extension of the usage when past tenses are introduced. Cic. In M. Ant. VIII. 10.31: *huius industriam maxime equidem vellem ut imitarentur ei quos oportebat*. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 31.2: *equidem vellem uti pedes haberent*. The difference of course is that the past tense is not the natural one for the expression of a command. The shift indicates that the construction that held together the two clauses was already sufficiently developed to be extended as a whole to



a past tense, a very important step in the development of the subordinate clause.

Verbs of requesting in the associated clause give a somewhat different tone but the usage is no different. Pl. Men. 1073: *quaeso ignoscas*. Pl. Curc. 629: *quaeso ut mihi dicas*. Ter. Ad. 491: *haec primum ut fiant deos quaeso*. Ter. Heaut. 1025: *obsecro eius ut memineris*. Pl. Curc. 330: *argenti rogo uti faciat copiam*. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 25. 1: *idque ut semper facias, rogo*. Cic. In Caec. 7. 23: *reus ut absolvatur non peto*.

The extensions are the same. For example, Pl. Men. 688: *nec te ultro oravi ut cures*. Pl. Truc. 797: *era meo oravit minor, puer uti ferratur*. In such instances the line between coördinate and subordinate has clearly been passed. The original usage, however, is well illustrated by a comparison with such imperative instances as these: Pl. Amph. 765: *mane, mane, obsecro te*. Seneca, Oed. 864: *ignosce, quaeso*. Ter. Heaut. 1052: *age, quaeso, ne tam cōfirma te*.

Verbs of exhorting, urging, or persuading and, on the other hand, of warning express a slightly different degree of will. Ter. Phor. 102: *censeo eamur*. Pl. Merc. 483: *quo leto censes me ut peream*. Tac. Ann. XII. 13. 3: *monet sacerdotes ut templum iuxta equos . . . sistant*. The past tenses with developed subordination are rather more common: Nep. Cim. 1. 3: *egit cum Cimone ut eam sibi uxorem daret*. Caes. B. G. I. 2: *civitati persuasit ut de finibus suis . . . exirent*. Cic. Ad Att. XVI. 8. 2: *equidem suavi ut Romam pergeret*.

Still another shade of will is expressed by verbs of permitting or yielding. Pl. Cas. 206: *sine amet*. Ter. Hec. 590: *neque sinam ut . . . dicat*. Cic. Pro Rosa. Am. 19. 54: *concedo tibi ut ea praetereas*. The extended use is frequent; e. g., Nep. Epam. 8. 1: *quibus ille permisit ut omnem causam in se transferrent*. A particular usage within this group is of special interest. *Licet* was often used with the imperative and with the subjunctive, just as these personal verbs expressing permission were used. *I licet* and *scias licet* are familiar. The subjunctive, however, in this relation, is never accompanied by *ut*. With *licet* therefore the line between coördinate and subordinate has been more difficult to draw, a further illustration of the secondary importance of this line of demarcation.

Verbs of ordering are probably the most familiar of all the verbs in this group. It is worth while simply to note that the presence of the *ut* does not make any essential difference. Pl. Poen. 1155: *dico . . . tuam mihi filiam despondeas*. Pl. Pseud. 511: *dico ut . . . caveas*. Pl. Men. 955: *servos iube hunc ad me ferant*. Pl. Amph. 205: *Telebois iubet sententiam ut dicant*. Caes. B. G. II. 2. 3: *Dat negotium Senonibus . . . uti ea quae apud eos gerantur cognoscant*. Nep. Dion, 9. 3: *isique dat negotium ad Dionem eant inermes*.

Another class of associated verbs, closely allied to the preceding, express planning or telling. The *ut* clause completes these verbs in one way, just as an object noun may in another, or an infinitive in another. When the verb is a verb of telling or saying the *ut* clause regularly expresses an order and we have only an extension of the use of the interjected word of ordering into a clause with the subjunctive. For this is regularly the meaning that these verbs take on under the influence of the present usage. Tac. Ann. II. 31. 1: *responsum est ut senatum rogaret*. The logically incomplete word interjected into the jussive sentence has here gained almost complete ascendancy. So in the following: Cic. Brut. 42. 157: *dixeram a principio . . . ut sileremus*. Nep. Them. 2. 6: *Pythia respondit ut moenibus ligneis se munirent*. There is little difference in the verbs of planning for these too have a clear sense of purpose or will. Nep. Dion, 9. 2: *cogitans, si forte consiliis obstitisset fortuna, ut haberet qua aufugeret ad salutem*.

Finally, there are certain imperatives frequently used in the associated clause to make more urgent the will notion or to specify its method of application. Here, as elsewhere in the present chapter, the line is difficult to draw between these instances and those cited in the second chapter as independent subjunctive with an interjected imperative. In reality there is no line. *Fac, adsis* (Pl. Amph. 976) and *fac ut impetres* (Pl. Cas. 714) may be taken in either way. It was the incompleteness, logically speaking, of the inserted verb that led to the development of the subordinate clauses. Cicero has in close juxtaposition *fac ut te quam maxime diligat* (Ad Fam. VII. 15. 2) and *fac plane sciam* (Ad Fam. VII. 16. 3). Neither is wholly independent or wholly subordinate. *Cura ut valeas* is a

familiar phrase of the same sort. *Facio* in particular was susceptible of considerable extension. It frequently expresses the determined will of the speaker to carry out the will notion expressed in the *ut* clause, as in Ter. And. 701: *faciam . . . ut credat*. But here again there is no need of the *ut*; Pl. Amph. 63: *faciam . . . sit tragicomœdia*.

In the same category with these insistent words of urging is the phrase not infrequently injected into conversational Latin, *amabo te*, or simply *amabo*. This was used both with the imperative and with the subjunctive of will. Ter. Eun. 150: *id amabo adiuta me*. Ter. Eun. 537: *amabo ut illuc transeas*. Here is a phrase which was interjected in the same way as the others but, perhaps because so much was implied without being expressed, never wholly gained the ascendancy. It comes closest to it in Pl. Men. 425: *sed ~~sin~~ quid te amabo ut facias* under the influence of an extension to the interrogative usage.

A second group of verbs used in the associated clause and in which the idea of will is still prominent consists of verbs with the meaning of agreement, understanding, decision. The action expressed in the *ut* clause is subsequent to the notion of determination. These are not extensively employed in the simple form but are common in the extended form with past tenses. Pl. Asin. 248: *certumst sūnam faenore*. Pl. Mil. Gl. 295: *ut pereas paratumst*. Cic. Pro Rosc. Amer. 9. 25: *itaque decurionum decretum statim fit ut decem primi profisciscantur*. Tac. Ann. III. 60. 4: *igitur placitum ut mitterent civitates iura atque legatos*. Cic. De Rep. I. 12. 18: *placitum est ut in aprico . . . loco . . . considerent*.

Almost identical, perhaps entirely so, are a number of impersonal phrases implying either a consensus of opinion or a general decision, such as *optimum est*, *mos est*, etc. Pl. Aul. 567: *optimumst loces*. Pl. Poen. 1244: *patronus sim necesse est*. Ter. Eun. 969: *necesset huic ut subveniam*. Cic. Ad Fam. III. 3. 1: *consensus fuit senatus ut mature profiscisceremur*. Cic. Planc. 2. 5: *vetus est . . . lex . . . amicitiae . . . ut idem amici semper velint*.

The third group of verbs occurring in the associated clause and antecedent to the verbs in the *ut* clause, is more sharply

differentiated from the rest than were the last two from each other. In the first two groups the verbs all contained a notion of will, whether individual or collective, whether permissive, jussive, hortatory, or pleading. The verbs now under consideration express no action of will but one of accomplishment, something effected. This difference in the comment introduces also a difference in the sort of relation between the clauses. In the first place, the verbs in the present group tend to confine themselves to the expression of a purely impersonal state with no play of personal volition, no aim on the part of any actor. If the verb of the *ut* clause is in the present or the imperfect it seems still to retain the notion of an act or state willed. But when, by extension, it passes to the perfect or pluperfect, it too, under the influence of the associated verb, shades over toward the notion of fulfilment of the purpose. Here is a strong influence exerted by the commenting verb or phrase, illustrating the power of such an interjected idea to modify the idea with which it is brought into association.

In such instances as Pl. Most. 1174: *ego illum ut sit quietus verberibus subegero*, the notion of will is still prominent. The comment in the associated clause adds to this a further notion of the fulfilment of the purpose. It is the logical incompleteness of the *illum subegero* which makes us instinctively associate the two clauses closely in construction until we come to look on the original expression of will as subordinate. Two elements make this easy: the incompleteness of the commenting phrase by itself, and the fact that the *ut* clause expresses a condition subsequent to the act of the associated clause. The same is equally clear in Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 7. 2: *perfice ut sis in familiaribus Caesaris*. Both of these instances present verbs in the associated clause that express acts of personal volition. So does Nep. Epam. 6. 4, in which the notion of will is still present with the imperfect in the *ut* clause: *tum enim perfecit . . . ut auxilio sociorum privarentur*.

In the following examples the verb of the associated clause has no such notion of personal volition and the idea of accomplishment gradually supplants that of will. Nep. Milt. 5. 2: *quo factum est ut plus quam collegae Miltiades valeret*. Ad Heren. III. 22. 37: *nam ea res quoque faciet ut facilius memi-*

*nisse possimus. Cic. De Off. II. 3. 10: ex quo efficitur ut quid-  
quid honestum sit idem sit utile. Nep. Them. 1. 4: quo factum  
est ut brevi tempore illustraretur. With these cases should be  
included two which present the verb *mereo* followed by an *ut*  
clause. The predominant idea is that of accomplishment not  
purpose. Pl. Capt. 744: *aliter ut dicam meres. Pl. Au. 222:  
nam de te neque re neque verbis merui uti faceres quomodo facis.*  
Cic. De Or. I. 54. 232: *respondit se meruisse ut amplissimis  
honoribus . . . decoraretur.**

The step indicated in this change of emphasis from the notion  
of will to that of accomplishment is not a long one but it is a  
most important one. It is best illustrated by the verb *facio*.  
We have already noted its use in the imperative to make more  
urgent the expression of will *Face ut impetres* (Pl. Cas. 714),  
and *fac sis aurum ut videam* (Pl. Rud. 1088) illustrate this use.  
There is no lessening of the notion of will in the *ut* clause in  
*faciam ut det* (Pl. Rud. 1084) but there is more emphasis on  
the will to accomplish expressed in the *faciam*. The transfer of  
emphasis is carried further in the extension to the past: *fecit  
ut intellegere* (Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 32.1). That it is not  
entirely gone from the *ut* clause is clear from Pl. True. 816:  
*numquam te facere hodie quivi ut is quis esset diceret.* But the  
will is lost in the stress laid on the accomplished state in *quo  
factum est ut brevi tempore illustraretur*. With the submergence  
of the will notion the sense of subordination becomes complete.

Certain commenting verbs in clauses associated with subse-  
quent *ut* clauses express fear. These verbs developed a distinct  
construction of their own but originally they too were verbs of  
comment, logically incomplete in their meaning and so exposed  
to the forces which led to the formation of subordinate clauses.  
The resulting constructions have been variously interpreted,  
Kühner considering that they originated in questions, Bennett  
that they came from optative expressions. It seems to me most  
probable, in view of the instances of inserted verbs of comment  
that have already been studied, that we have here a particularly  
interesting application of the force exercised by such verbs, a  
force in the present case exercised on clauses of different types.  
It would be hard to consider *timeo ne veniat* as originating in a  
question without evidence of *ne veniat* in an interrogative sense.

On the other hand, it is almost equally hard to believe that *timeo ut veniat* could come from an injunction, *ut veniat*, with a commenting *timeo*. In the event of either explanation being the correct one, we should have to admit that analogy played an unusually large rôle.

Commenting verbs, however, could be interjected into all sorts of sentences, and those which were suitable to some were unsuitable to others, while some acquired very different connotations in different contexts. *Metuo* and similar verbs were well adapted to the uses of commenting verbs. Inserted, however, into a positive order, *ut eas*, they would hardly convey any satisfactory sense. This is a trifle overstated. But a positive order, while it might be followed by an explanation containing the notion of fear, would hardly have a verb of fear as a comment giving tone, especially the reinforced injunction with *ut*. In a negative order, a prohibition, *ne eas*, they are perfectly natural. The verb of fearing would, on the other hand, be a fairly natural tone comment on the type of questions that we have found expressed by the subjunctive with *ut*. It must be remembered that verbs of fearing with *ut* clauses are very rare in early Latin (Bennett says sixteen in all) and that the later cases were undoubtedly more influenced by analogy.

Pl. Most. 465: *metuo te atque istos expiari ut possies*. If it were not for the familiar analogy of *metuo ne*, probably no one would think of there being any jussive element in *ut possies*. But the questions, often called dubitative, are of just the sort that would be used in this instance and the *metuo* is a most suitable comment. The same will be clear, I think, in the other examples. Ter. Ad. 627: *id ipsum metuo ut credant*. Pl. Pers. 319: *enim metuo ut possiem in bubile reicere, ne vagentur*. Pacuv. 154: *ut queam vereor*. It is not of any very great importance to determine whether the *ut queam*, for example, of this Pacuvius example was originally a question or a strong wish. (In either case it would be different from the order *ne eas*.) The important fact is that the verb of fearing is introduced into the clause to give it a specific tone and that it gains the ascendancy until such sentences as the following became familiar and entirely understandable. Caes. B. G. I. 39: *rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari posset, timere se dicebant*. Cic. Ad Fam. XII. 19.1: *verebar ut redderentur*.

This concludes the categories of verbs incomplete in their meaning used in clauses associated with subsequent *ut* clauses. There are, however, a good many such associated clauses that have "incomplete" verbs with an object expressed in their own clause, but an object so vague and undefined itself as to be simply a further indication of a clause to follow. The *ut* clause becomes really epexegetical, defining the vague noun. These instances show nothing new in type, but the vague nouns, *causam*, *hanc ob rem*, etc. may be used and are used with verbs whose meaning is otherwise logically complete. They form therefore something of a transition to the group of verbs which give no indication of the *ut* clause to follow. Cic. Ad Fam. I. 8. 4: *ob eam causam scribo ut . . . neditere*. The supplementary use of the incomplete demonstrative is very common with these instances; not infrequently the whole anticipation seems to rest in the demonstrative, as in Cic. Pro Lig. 4. 11: *non habet eam vim ista accusatio ut Q. Ligarius condemnatur sed ut necetur*. This relation would have been understandable but not obvious without the *eam*.

A few instances of these "incomplete" nouns will be sufficient to illustrate the type. Livy, VI. 31. 7: *Romano . . . in hostico morandi causa erat ut hostem ad certamen eliceret*. Pl. Mil. Gl. 72: *videtur tempus esse et eamus ad forum*. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 14. 1: *dabo operam ut istuc veniam*. Ter. Heaut. 789: *volo te dare operam ut fiat*. Ter. And. 623: *non habeo spiritum ut de te sumam supplicium*.

Adjectives may readily take the place of nouns in this usage, as, for example, *reliquum est ut egomet mihi consulam* (Nep. Att. 21. 5). The meaning of the interjected adjective (which is usually used simply with some form of *esse*) determines primarily whether the associated clause of comment is antecedent (as here) or contemporary (as with *mirum est* or *verisimile est*) and therefore has a considerable influence on the precise meaning of the *ut* clause. Cic. Ad Fam. IV. 13. 7: *extremum illud est ut te orem*. Cic. De Nat. Deor. II. 29. 73: *proximum est ut doceam*.

Simple forms of *esse*, especially *fore* and *futurum* left incomplete in their own clause, their meaning fulfilled in the *ut* clause, developed into a definite idiom. Cic. Ad Fam. VII.

27.1: *ais fore ut te Caesar restituat*. Caes. B. G. I. 20.4: *qua ex re futurum uti totius Galliae animi a se averterentur*. Cic. De Or. II. 36.152: *est . . . ut plerique philosophi nulla tradant praecepta dicendi*. It is clear that these instances with *esse* are akin to the group of verbs expressing fulfilment rather than any degree of will. In this they are quite different from *causa est ut* or *proximum est ut*. It is even doubtful whether the *ut* clause is subsequent, but on the whole it seems regularly to be so.

Finally, there is a very large and very familiar group of cases in which the subsequent *ut* clause is deliberately anticipated by the use of *sic*, *ita*, *hic*, and other logically incomplete adverbs, pronouns, and particles. Nep. Cimon, 4.3: *cottidie sic cena ei coquebatur ut quos invocatos vidisset in foro, omnes ad se vocaret*. Pl. Capt. 240: *et propterea saepius te, uti memineris, moneo*. Ter. And. 587: *sed ea gratia simulavi, vos ut pertemptarem*. In these instances the personal volition is evident, anticipating the notion of will in the *ut* clause. In the following the notion of fulfilment is uppermost although the verb is one of personal volition. Nep. Milt. 5.5: *adeoque eos perterruerunt ut Persae . . . naves petierint*. The tense plays the important rôle as it does also in the following: Nep. Att. 2.3: *hic ita vixit ut universis Atheniensibus merito esset carissimus*. There is no notion of personal volition in the following, accomplishment only. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 1.2: *noster Aesopis eius modi fuit ut ei desinere per omnes homines liceret*. Nep. Arist. 3.2: *in tanta paupertate decessit ut qui efferretur vix reliquerit*.

There is left for consideration the second large subdivision of the subsequent *ut* clauses, those that are associated with clauses whose verbs contain no specific intimation of design or accomplishment, verbs which, notwithstanding the fact that they are associated with closely related *ut* clauses, are logically complete in themselves. It will be convenient to divide them into two groups: first, those verbs which express acts of personal volition, and, second, those which express a state or condition without any notion of personal volition.

In the first group there are many verbs which cannot be said with confidence to have no implication of a clause to follow. For example, *nitor* and *paro* may be used absolutely, but there is



frequently a sense of incompleteness unsatisfied until the *ut* clause is reached. Nep. Milt. 4.5: *unus Miltiades maxime nitebatur ut* etc. Ter. Heaut. 948: *ac iam uxorem ut accersat paret*. Furthermore, the use of *ita*, *sic*, and the like to give a sense of incompleteness is extremely common. The verb *mitto* used without an object is practically a verb of ordering, as in Cic. Ad Fam. XVI. 9.3: *Curio nisi ut medico honos haberetur*, and *nuntium mittere* has the same sense. *Scribo* in the use of *scripsi ut* is similar and this is extended to the use with an object, as in Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 27.2: *haec tibi scripsi, ut . . . te nihil esse cognosceres*. *Mittere* may be extended in the same way and often is. Pl. Amph. 195: *me a portu praemisit domum ut haec nuntiem uxori suae*. A demonstrative may supplement this without changing the essential character of the connection. Pl. Cas. 680: *id huc missa sum tibi ut dicerem*.

Verbs of summoning are frequently followed by *ut* clauses. When this occurs, the notion of willed state or action in the *ut* clause is usually obvious and the *voco* or whatever verb is used in the associated clause can hardly be considered logically incomplete. Pl. Cas. 481: *mea uxor vocabit huc eam ad se in nuptias ut hic sit secum, se adiuvet, secum cubet*. Pl. Rud 479: *iam hercle evocabo hinc hanc sacerdotem foras ut hanc accipiat urnam*.

Coming to verbs of motion, it is still possible that in narrative such a verb may leave a certain sense of vagueness or, it may be, merely irrelativity that is explained by the *ut* clause. It is, however, the *ut* clause which carries the burden of expressing the relation except in so far as analogy makes the construction familiar and obvious. Pl. Men. 97: *ultro eo ut me vinciat*. Nep. Hann. 9.1: *Creiam ad Gortynios venit ut ibi, quo se conferret, consideraret*. Pl. Capt. 919: *ego ibo ut conveniam senem*. With these as with almost all instances in the present category, a demonstrative may be used as a supplementary guide. Ter. Eun. 1005: *nunc id prodeco ut conveniam Parmenonem*.

It will not be necessary to illustrate extensively the verbs which have absolutely no implication resulting from a logical incompleteness in their meaning. Once the method of expressing relation was familiar, it naturally attached itself to the permanent element and *ut* with the subjunctive mode could be used

without ambiguity in a clause of subsequent action even when the verb in the associated clause was colourless. This seems to be the last step in subordination. When the *ut* clause comes first there is still a certain survival of the old feeling of independence, as in Caes. B. C. I. 30, *ut sint auxilio suis, subsistunt*. But this is rather uncommon. The following will be sufficient reminders of the familiar usage. Cic. De Fin. II. 4. 12: *ab aratro abduxerunt Cincinnatum illum, ut dictator esset*. Nep. Epam. 4. 5: *praesidium dedit, ut tuto perveniret*. Pl. Men. 987: *nunc fores pultabo, adesse ut me sciat*. Tac. Ann. II. 16. 4: *soli Cherusci iuga insedere ut proeliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent*.

The associated clause in such cases in Plautus and Terence is very frequently an imperative clause, but on the whole the forces that are at work seem to be about the same. *Eamus nunc intro ut tabellas consignemus* (Pl. Curc. 365) seems to be essentially the same as *ibo ut conveniam*, and even *animum advorte ut . . . scias* (Pl. Cist. 511), while it is suggestive of the familiar use of a future after an imperative, is in reality closer to the present type.

Finally, there is the group of associated clauses with no notion of personal volition. Almost invariably these are supplemented with some such adverb as *sic* or *ita* which removes them from the present category, but there are a few instances in which they stand alone. Varro, R. R. I. 2. 6: *arboribus consita Italia est ut tota pomarium videtur*. Caes. B. G. II. 25: *multis gravibusque vulneribus confectus ut iam sustinere se non posset*. Nep. Milt. 8. 4: *sed in Miltiade erat . . . mira communitas ut nemo tam humilis esset cui non ad eum aditus pateret*. Cic. Pro Planc. 25. 60: *in virtute multi sunt ascensus, ut is maxime gloria excellat, qui etc.* Tac. Ann. II. 16. 5: *intentus paratusque miles, ut ordo agminis in aciem adsisteret*. One of the least uncommon forms of clause with this usage is this last, containing an adjective. *Fuit animo magno, intemperans est, ditissimus erat* are other examples.

This last group are all of the type which indicates an accomplished state. They exclude the idea of design or will except in the remote form of a general purpose perceptible only in its accomplishment. They are clear largely by analogy.

## VII. SUMMARY.

This survey of the uses of *ut* makes it clear that in practically every instance the construction with the particle is paralleled by an equivalent construction without it or else is clearly the extension of a usage which exists both with and without the *ut*. It also, I think, makes it a little more obvious that the "subordinate" *ut* constructions are the outgrowth of "independent" constructions and, at the same time, brings out the fact that the line is not sharply drawn between the two. It is therefore primarily to the cases of *ut* with independent clauses that we look for an understanding of the general force of the particle.

In these independent clauses, the influence of factors outside the *ut* at once becomes noticeable. For example, the particle is used freely with subjunctive clauses of command until it becomes to a certain extent associated with them and takes to itself a certain element of content from this relation. These sentences of command throw light upon the questions with subjunctive verbs introduced by *ut*. The questions usually follow a command and always expect a negative answer. In other words, they are rather exclamatory extensions, the idea of will being transferred from the preceding command and therefore accounting for the subjunctive. Sometimes there is an actual exclamation without an interrogative tone in which the will notion is similarly transferred. On the other hand, when the *ut* clause is an indicative sentence the *ut* plays a more definite rôle. It seems essential to the questions which are not yes-no but nominal questions. The distinction between exclamation and question with the indicative is pretty largely one of voice inflection: hence the prevalence of interpretative words or phrases used with these clauses to make them clear. Such supporting phrases are found with all of the independent clauses indicating their inherent lack of precision.

There would seem to be then fundamentally two uses of *ut*, one essential in its clause with a certain amount of semantic content in the *ut*, the other with almost no such content but with the *ut* serving the function of emphasizing an element in the clause. Both uses are so far from being narrowly confined

that there are constantly introduced elements to support and define the meaning or tone of the clause. Partly through the influence of these supplementary elements and partly through the force of the more fundamental methods of expressing sentence relations inherent in the *ut*-clauses and in the associated clauses, there entered the sense of subordination ordinarily associated with the particle *ut*.

The non-essential or emphasizing employment of *ut*, originating apparently with the independent subjunctive sentences of will, continued to be used almost exclusively with the subjunctive, perhaps altogether so. There is some doubt in the case of what I have called antecedent clauses with *ut*. At first these seem to make use of the emphasizing *ut*, stressing the immediateness of the antecedent. But I am inclined to think that further scrutiny shows that this is not precisely true. The idea of immediateness comes rather from the same sense of balance or coincidence which appears in the succeeding group. The difference lies in the fact that the coincidence is rather narrowly confined to coincidence of the time of action, coincidence of the completion of the act of one clause with the whole act or the beginning of the act of the second. The verbs being verbs of motion as a rule made this easier. The particles added to the associated clause to supplement the expression of relation are adverbs of time. The extension towards subordination comes through the incompleteness of the associated clause, through the frequent use of the pluperfect tense in the *ut* clause, a tense which is logically incomplete or relative in itself, and by the gradual use of verbs that do not mark the temporal coincidence. These verbs are verbs that do not express motion and which were used only when the construction became familiar.

The emphasizing *ut* is, if this hypothesis is true, used only with the subjunctive, emphasizing the verb of will or, more precisely, the notion of will in the verb. With interjected clauses the result is a somewhat combative tone, if the will power expressed is strong, or an apologetic one if the will is simply the determination to say something in spite of a doubt on the part of the speaker.

In coincident clauses the emphasis is again strongly on the

will notion. The inherent contrast primarily determines the sentence relation and the added emphasis to an element of one side of the balanced contrast is the purpose behind the use of *ut*. The hypothetical or willed action of the subjunctive clause is contrasted with the actual fact of the associated indicative clause. It is significant that the *ut* is sometimes doubled, sometimes stressed by the use of *quidem* and by other familiar devices. This is an approach to subordination familiar in cases with no particles at all or with one not commonly called subordinating.

Finally, the use of the emphasizing *ut* receives its widest extension in the subsequent clauses. In its simplest form the use of *ut* with a subsequent clause is an obvious extension of the independent use. The relation of clause to clause is largely determined by the character of the associated clause. Difference in tense between the two clauses plays an important part, as does the frequent logical incompleteness of the associated clause or the insertion in it of *ita* or *sic*. The change of tense within the *ut* clause led to a further extension in the direction of clearly marked subordination until the usage, thoroughly familiar, became as clear-cut and as much used as any in Latin. At the same time it was extended to use with verbs of a different type of meaning in the associated clause, verbs which stressed the accomplishment of the will rather than its purpose. This was accompanied by a corresponding shift in tense and a different type of clause resulted.

With the other type of *ut* the development never went so far. In the first place the *ut* was not so empty of semantic content and therefore was not susceptible of the same extension of use. In the second place, it was regularly used with the indicative mode which was less adapted than the subjunctive to extension into subordinate uses.

The use of this type of *ut* with antecedent clauses has already been discussed. Its other chief function in the developing language was very similar, namely that with coincident clauses in which the chief element expressing sentence relation was parallelism. This might be and was extended to contrasted sentences but, contrary to its function in those contrasted clauses in which *ut* accompanied a verb in the subjunctive expressing the notion of will, the *ut* still served, usually with some correla-

tive in the associated clause, to mark coincidence, not to add to the emphasis on one notion. Contrast therefore developed but it hardly became so clearly concession as when the will notion was present. The two types converge closely at this point and analogy may have brought them closer than they would otherwise have been.

It is noteworthy here as elsewhere that it was the influences outside the *ut* itself that determined the development. This can hardly be over-emphasized. Two very different uses of *ut* could develop under similar influences to almost the same result.

As in the case of every other type of clause, the underlying influences were largely the meaning of the clauses in which the *ut* stood, the logical incompleteness of some element involved, emphasis, the use of repetition or contrast, change of tense. Particularly noteworthy in the case of *ut* clauses and their associated clauses is the influence of phrases added, at first parenthetically, to give tone to a clause and gradually developing from a secondary position to that of prime importance syntactically until what had once been the whole sentence becomes the subordinate clause.

The results of this investigation are not at all revolutionary. Especially is this true of the light which it throws on the origin of the particle. There seem to have been two lines of development along which *ut* came to its accepted uses in classical Latin. One had already at the earliest period that we can control reached an adverbial stage at which it is difficult to discern its origin. Its use, however, is clear, namely to emphasize the will notion in the verb. That this adverb *uti* may be a case form of the relative does not seem impossible in view of the similar use of *quidem*. The analogy of *modo* adds no light, for this particular use is the result of a particular meaning of *modus* rather than of the case. Whatever the origin of this *ut*, it seems to have become practically empty of content and to have thus lent itself to use in a specific and rather narrowly defined construction.

The second line of development seems pretty clearly to have been from the relative-interrogative. The notion of manner was evidently predominant and, inasmuch as the pronoun retained a

certain semantic content of its own, it exercised a little more influence on the development of the clauses as a whole and had a somewhat more independent career and a wider range. It may very likely never be possible to determine accurately the exact origin of *ut*. The present study aims only to present the conditions under which it developed as the most profitable method of understanding its actual use.

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## A COMMENTARY ON THE INSCRIPTION FROM HENCHIR METTICH IN AFRICA.

Without trying to make a complete commentary on the domanial inscriptions<sup>1</sup>—which would repeat much that the earlier editions have established—I would offer some interpretations on various passages in which the editors seem to have been misled by a failure to understand the local conditions. The texts are now so well edited in the *Corpus*, in Bruns *Fontes* and in Girard that we need not reproduce them here. Most of my remarks can be based upon the earliest of the texts, the one found at Henchir Mettich in 1896, and I shall use Dessau's text, found in *C. I. L.* VIII, Supp. IV, no. 25902, with references to Gradenwitz, in Bruns *Fontes*,<sup>7</sup> p. 295, and Girard, *Textes*,<sup>4</sup> p. 870. It will be remembered that this is an ordinance issued by Trajan's procurators in Africa stating on what terms (in accord with an earlier *lex Manciana*) tenants of the domain called "Villa Magna" might cultivate unassigned lands (*subseciva*), what shares tenants in general are to pay (usually a third), on what terms figs, vines and olives might be planted or sheep be permitted to graze on the estate, how the planter forfeits his rights by neglect, how tenants are required to devote certain days' work to the demesne lands (*corvée*), etc. The order was apparently modelled upon the regulations formerly made by a certain Mancian, so that here and there words like "dominus," not applicable to an imperial estate, seem to have been thoughtlessly retained.<sup>2</sup> In fact it is not always possible to assign all lines to their proper stratum.

I, 5. *Data a Licinio Maximo et Felicior Aug. lib. procc., ad exemplum legis Mancianae.* One sees at once that the tenants are not under municipal law. This document is not only an economic regulation issued by the emperor's financial agents to tenants but, as in II, 12, it lays down penalties for transgressions and also imposes exactions of work in lieu of what were once municipal obligations (IV, 30). This proves

<sup>1</sup> See p. 55, *The Inscriptions of the Imperial Domains of Africa.*

<sup>2</sup> At IV, 22, for instance, only the opening phrase is copied, the rest being apparently omitted as no longer valid.



that the tenants whether citizens or Libyans are, as on the *Saltus Burunitanus*, under direct imperial jurisdiction and outside of local municipal control. Ever since Mommsen commented on the Burunitan inscription (Hermes, 1880) many attempts have been made to discover the beginnings of the extra-municipal society so strikingly revealed in that text. It was his opinion—not yet proved—that land-holding nobles in the late republic had already in Italy begun to oppose the exercise of municipal control over the tenants of their estates. Rostovtzeff<sup>3</sup> on the other hand suggested that the imperial practice was modelled upon old royal customs of Asia as revealed in the famous inscription of Queen Laodice. Here it is our first duty to see whether the conditions pictured in the Burunitan inscription are not explained by local conditions.

We have seen how Roman citizens had been settled farm by farm over the arable land in a district that lay in the midst of Numidian tribes. Many tribal villages remained, some with territory, others with very little or none. The native administration apparently continued as before, subject however to practical police supervision. The Roman citizens on the other hand were mapped off into *pagi*, as in Campania, with *magistri*, *decuriones*, and priests. Some government activity was needed in road and temple-building and in assigning guard duty in a new country. The *magistri* had jurisdiction in most of the petty disputes; for important criminal and civil cases there was the praetor's court at Utica. When presently there began the shift in property,<sup>4</sup> and large estates were absorbing the allotments, what would happen to the pagan government when one proprietor had bought out the lands of a whole *pagus* or run across the lines of two or three, and when accordingly the former owners—the citizens of the *pagus*—had departed, or moved to the village to engage in commerce, or settled down as small share-renters with Libyan coloni? The meetings of the *pagus* might continue for a while with perfunctory business,

<sup>3</sup> Klio, I, 404, and *Klio*-at, 375 ff. See p. 55 for bibliography. Add, Clausen, *The Roman Colonies*, New York, 1925 (of little value) and Van Nostrand, *The Imperial Domains of Africa*, California, 1925, which came too late for use.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 66.

but the landlord would order roads built where he needed them and direct whatever guard duty was most essential to his interests, and "town meetings" would simply cease. Only in areas where small farms survived and at villages where some citizens engaged in trade would the paganal government continue as active as we have found them at Thugga, Thignica and Uchi Majus. Nowhere in this whole region was there a single city of "municipal" standing before the second century to keep alive traditions of the Roman city government. It is quite clear that long before imperial estates existed here the private landlord and his agent must have, by very necessity, taken charge of a quasi-civil administration upon the estate. Most disputes would concern him most, and even disputes of the tenants would require his arbitration in the interest of the estate; but the vital point is that there was no longer a paganal government in existence.

Such was already the situation in the Bagradas valley when the emperor came into possession of large domains there, and it probably did not occur to any one that local self-governments might be established for the few Roman citizen coloni who were left. And by the time cities like Thugga were important enough to be called municipalities the procuratorial jurisdiction was an ingrained custom. We have therefore no reason for supposing with Mommsen that the custom came from Italy, for it must have grown up here. Any reference to Asiatic customs would hardly seem pertinent. But it would be unsafe on the other hand to claim that a practice which grew up in the Bagradas valley spread into Italy. Similar economic and geographical conditions would readily originate the custom independently in various places.

I, 6: *Ad exemplum legis Mancianae*. From what follows we may infer that the "lex Manciana" permitted coloni to occupy and cultivate unoccupied land (*subseciva*) on certain terms. This was before Trajan's day. From the Hadrianic inscription of Aïn Dj. (Bruns, p. 303) we learn that, on the neighboring Saltus Neronianus, coloni had the privilege of cultivating waste land—*silvestria et paludes*—according to the terms of the lex Manciana. The privilege had not at that time been applied to the other saltus of the region, so that it was not a lex of wide application. What was the lex? It is difficult to accept Ros-

Restovtzeff's view that a legate issued it for Vespasian<sup>5</sup> while organizing the estates that Nero had confiscated. The objections are these: 1) Vespasian was not interested in having the subseciva planted; his policy (Front. *de Contr. Agr.* 41) was to reclaim title for the treasury and sell them for cash. 2) The mention of *domini*, as commentators have pointed out, seems to refer to private ownership. 3) Had it been an imperial decree for the tractus of Africa or this region it should have been in force on all the saltus and it should have borne the imperial name. It certainly was not an imperial lex.

We have seen (page 55) that this tract had an unusually long history before the day of imperial estates, that it had much unassigned rough country which was more fit for horticulture than for grain and that there was a growing population of natives who could be made productive on such lands. In view of the arguments given above we should assume that some intelligent landlord who had acquired several farms that enclosed subseciva had laid down a *lex contractus* for his various farms, according to which his tenants might squat on and develop the subseciva, paying a part of the rental in the form of land development. To be sure the ultimate title to subseciva lay in the state, but no one had for a century watched transgressions on such lands in Africa. Before Vespasian's day all that was worth having in this region was doubtless "enclosed." (Cf. Frontinus *de Contr. Agr.* ed. Th. 41).

Mancia phrased his *lex* in general terms applying to himself and future *domini* who might purchase or inherit the whole or parts of his estates, because his emphyteutic terms imposed a servitude on the land that could not be disregarded by future owners if justice were to be done the planting tenants. The

<sup>5</sup> He decides that it is pre-Domitianic because of its permission of wine culture. He thinks it imperial because *conductores* are mentioned. It is true that in Asia Roman landlords usually managed estates through procuratores and villici, but in the Bagradas valley where Marian colonists supplied practiced farmers Roman landlords would be wise to let out estates in bulk to master tenants, *conductores*. See *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s. v. Restovtzeff continues that imperial procuratores would hardly base an imperial decree on a private "*lex*," but if that *lex* had created certain servitudes which the coloni cited in their appeal it was only natural to answer in the terms of the *lex* cited.

general prescriptions are therefore not an indication of an extensive imperial application. Furthermore Trajan's renewal of the privilege can be understood by recalling that Vespasian's reassertion of title to subseciva had disturbed the legal status of such land. But it is noteworthy that Trajan's document prefers the word *ager incultus*, and that Hadrian's petitioners at Aïn Dj. speak rather of *silvestria et paludes*—for the reason, I think, that post-Vespasianic legislation had tended to recognize squatters' rights and had thereby made the original surveyor's distinction of subseciva obsolete. The *lex Manciana* therefore proves to be an exceedingly interesting private document belonging probably to the early empire.<sup>6</sup>

I. 6. *Qui eorum intra fundo Villae Magnae*. The privilege of squatting is here given only to the tenants of the villa. The purpose of the owner was probably to give opportunities to his own *coloni* who may have children to provide for, and to keep a satisfied tenantry, and the imperial procurators renew the offer for the same reason. Presumably the more industrious natives had accepted tenancies and deserved first consideration rather than the villagers who had preferred a haphazard life at occasional jobs. There is nothing in the provision to call for the hypothesis that practices mentioned in Egyptian laws were influential here. Hadrian, who as emperor is concerned not only about his own tenants but is lord of the other natives as well, naturally invited outsiders (Aïn Dj. Bruns, p. 303) to the same privilege, but he too could use his imagination to that extent without reference to Ptolemaic customs.

I. 7. *Eos agros qui subseciva sunt excolere permittitur lege Manciana*. A few years later (*lex Aïn Dj.*) the petitioners who live near Thignica ask for a grant to cultivate *eos agros qui sunt in paludibus et silvestribus lege Manciana*. The progress in the treatment of this unarable scrub and woodland is as follows. a) Marius' surveyors omitted it from their survey as not desirable since there was plenty of arable land available. b) One portion was "enclosed" by Manciana who permitted his tenants to

<sup>6</sup> Toutain (*Mém. Acad. Inscr.* 1897), Gummerus, *Die Fronden der Kolonen*, 1906, p. 9, and others have held that it was issued for private estates, though they have not recognized its place in the history of African colonization.

squat there on terms which we shall discuss presently. c) The title to such land became questionable by the activities of Vespasian. d) Trajan's procurators recognized the practice as valid on the Imperial fundus of Villa Magna, substituting however (for reasons given above) the term *ager incultus* through most of the letter. e) At some unknown time the custom was applied to the saltus Neronianus or perhaps that saltus had absorbed the Villa Magna (Ain Dj. I, where the phrase is *silvestria et paludes*). f) In Hadrian's day the villagers near Thignica, perhaps non-coloni, ask for the privilege on the terms of the lex Manciana. g) Before the answer comes Hadrian has issued a general *lex de rudibus agris et eis qui per x annos continuos inculti sunt* (Ain Ouassel, II, 10) which apparently is to apply to all the *tractus* of Africa, but presumably the division of territory for each group must be made by the procurator. h) In accordance with that lex, the procurators answer the petition by stating what particular lands are to be available for the petitioners of that region. These are any surveyed parts of the Saltus Blandianus and Udensis that are not being farmed by the master-tenant and the edges of the Saltus Lamianus and Domitianus which have been assigned to the Thysdrian saltus and are not being farmed. Of this the latter portion was apparently once *subseciva*. Heritable possession, subject to the usual rental, is given but of course with the stipulations about forfeiture in case of abandonment which were recorded in the *lex de rudibus agris*.<sup>7</sup> A general law for the whole empire was apparently not promulgated before the famous decree of Pertinax.

A few points need special notice. Because of the history of the district I think, despite recent arguments, that *subseciva* is the earlier term belonging to the Lex Manciana. Secondly, the history of the region explains how the *subseciva* came to be granted to cultivators. Ptolemy's irrigation of "dry lands" in Egypt may provide an interesting parallel; but it confuses the comprehension of facts to bring it in as a "model" for African customs. Thirdly, the placing of old assigned lands (once given to Marius' colonists *e jure Quiritium*) on the same basis

<sup>7</sup> Several of these details were first explained by Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, 325 ff.

as the subseciva, which was legally ager publicus, is a necessary consequence of the fact that at Rome the fiscus and the patrimonium had been combined. No eastern influence is required to explain it, and Domitian's epistle to the Faleriones (*C. I. L.* IX, 5420) is more apposite for illustration than Egyptian papyri. Finally, all this legislation provides little proof that before the day of Hadrian coloni are more and more being oppressed so that inducements have to be offered to attract them to land. It must be remembered that the Libyans had been nomads and were rather likely to shift; also that much of the land was of poor quality and produced less than some sanguine settlers had hoped. The best of farmers would give up courage in time on some of these hillsides. So far as these three laws are concerned they show only an increase in population, a desire on the part of the emperor to get the best possible results, and an effort on both sides to adapt the crops to the lands so far as the lands were arable. As for the paludes there were very few in this district. If the word was quoted from the lex Manciana it is likely that one of Mancian's farms lay near the Bagradas river where the word would have application on some very restricted areas.

I. 9. Ut eas qui excoluerit *usum proprium* habeat. The phrase *usum proprium* is unusual in Roman legal terminology and difficult to comprehend. Rostovtzeff (*Kolonat*, 347) has called the word un-Roman and brought in the Egyptian papyri to provide an explanation. If, however, we remember that the legal ownership of the subseciva must lie in the state which might some day assert its title, as had been done in the Gracchan day, and that Mancian (if it be he) was merely following a long-established and apparently safe custom in "enclosing" it, we can comprehend why he could not employ the usual words denoting ownership.

In IV, 1-9, there seems to be a definition of what *usum proprium* was to be but the passage—to be discussed below—is so fragmentary that we get no explicit knowledge. That passage, however, reveals the fact that it embodied *jus colendi* and rights that were definite enough to serve as pledge in mortgages. It therefore was far more than what Roman law meant by *usum*. Far from being foreign the phrase seems to be created for a purely local situation. When used in the Villa Magna

document it is quoted from the *lex Manciana*. Trajan's retention of the term seems to imply that the legal question involved had not yet been settled in stated terms though his own action virtually disposed of the problems; but it is illuminating that after the general *lex de rudibus agris* the question is settled and Hadrian gives explicit titles in customary language: *possidendi ac fruendi ereditque sine relinquendi*. So much *Manciana* could not have been given because it was not his to give.

I, 9-10. This is the first known instance at Rome of granting part title for clearing and cultivating rough land. In the east where the state applied it very frequently it was called *emphyteusis*, but here in Africa we seem to see the custom growing up out of the local conditions<sup>8</sup> on private land—or rather on “enclosed” public land treated as private. The very custom is not found in Republican Rome but the principle involved is not un-Roman. The Roman Republic had not at first needed to place settlers in Italy by the use of *emphyteusis* because, in colonizing, the state was not then primarily concerned in getting crops and revenues but rather in settling garrison colonies on the frontiers. Having, up till the Gracchan period, an abundance of good land it gave in full title attractive lots without charge. The basic principle, however, had been invoked when necessary, though in a different form. Garrison duty was, for instance, required in “Latin” colonies, and port protection from “maritime” colonies, and in the Gracchan social colonies the lots were declared inalienable so as to keep the farmers on the lands for the purpose of raising (not more food or revenue but) a healthy stock of citizens for political and military reasons. In other words Rome had usually applied the principle that in giving the land she could require returns to suit her most pressing needs. It stands to reason that when the state found that its greatest need was to establish a larger and abiding revenue, assignments of residue lands would be made on a financial basis: the settler would get hereditary leasehold if he made the rough land (that was all that remained) productive, so that new rents would flow into the treasury. It required no more ingenuity to take this step than it had to devise the many other forms of colonization. In settling the west, American legis-

<sup>8</sup> For supposed Egyptian influence see Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, 351 ff.

lators invented new forms of emphyteusis in "preemption" homesteads and "timber claims" with temporary inalienability without reference to Ptolemy's Revenue Laws, and the French have recently tried half a dozen forms of emphyteusis in Tunis and Algiers as a study of local needs have suggested new methods.<sup>9</sup>

I. 10-15. With Gradenwitz in Bruns, *Fontes*, I take these lines as referring to procedure with reference to the crops on the subseciva (see *eo loco* l. 10) and the next passage ll. 20-30 as defining the regular procedure in dividing the shares on the old tenancies (see ll. 20, 21). On the new emphyteutic land the procedure is made as easy and simple as possible. Since the lands may be scattered on the hills far from the villa threshing floor, estimates of crops may be submitted by the farmer and an agreement reached with the *conductor*. It is not necessary to bring the whole crop down for a division of shares at the threshing. I translate the passage as follows: "Of the produce grown in that place (the subseciva), the planters shall be obliged to furnish the shares due according to the *lex Manciana* to the owners, their master-tenants or their stewards, according to the following procedure: Of the produce of every sort that the tenant is obliged to carry to the threshing floor and thresh he shall at his own estimate *report* the sum total to the conductores or vilici of that farm, and if the latter respond that they will give the *coloni* their renter's share in full (according to that estimate—i. e. if the latter agree to the estimate) the *coloni*<sup>10</sup> shall in written and sealed documents without deceit pledge the amount which they are under obligation to give, and<sup>11</sup> the conductores or vilici shall in their turn be under obligation to allow the *coloni* their due share." In other words the two parties may reach an agreement before the threshing and shall then give each other a release from further claims. Rostovtzeff<sup>12</sup> tries to find a parallel for this procedure in the *lex Hieronica* of

<sup>9</sup> See Rivière et Lecq, *Traité Pratique*, on "Colonisation officielle," pp. 860 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Tabellis obsignatis sine f. s.*, the subject is *coloni* of the main sentence.

<sup>11</sup> The sentence has room for *et* after *debent*, l. 19.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 363 ff.



Sicily, which however requires agreements and the appropriate acknowledgments at the threshing floor, but in Africa the procedure is devised in order to expedite the agreement before the harvest. If there were a parallel we should expect it in lines 20-29 where regular rentals are discussed. Seeing this he disregards the contrast between *eo loco* and *qui villas habent*, and applies the written acknowledgments to both paragraphs, which is quite impossible. In point of fact the similarity of phrasing is wholly fortuitous and due to the fact that contracts and receipts are necessarily similar the world over. One could find hundreds of similar contracts on American farms where the *lex Hieronica* has never been heard of. Pressing the analogue has only resulted in confusing the interpretation of our inscription.

I. 16. *partes coloniarum*. Here we find share-rents in vogue. The hypothesis has been offered and widely accepted that since cash-rental was the custom in Italy the *partiarial* system regularly assumed in these inscriptions must have come from Asia or Egypt where it was in vogue. It is true that there are but few literary references in Latin to share rents. The younger Pliny happens to mention the fact in one of his letters that since his tenants were constantly falling into arrears with their cash rental on the plea of poor crops, he had adopted the share-system by which there could be no excuse for arrears; the Digest has but few explicit references to it though Ulpian (D. 192, 25, 6) uses the technical term *partiarium* as though it were well understood. It is, however, fantastic to suppose that Italy had not known the share-system. Since Rome had had no real coinage before 269 B. C. the share-system was the only possible one for centuries and we are explicitly informed (Appian, *B. C.* I. 7) that the early Republic collected the rents on *ager publicus* in kind. Even in Cato's day the *colitor* received his pay in shares of the crop. In Rome's prosperous period money rents naturally came into vogue since absent landlords do not wish to bother with the problem of marketing. And in a country where crops are certain so that a fixed average estimate can fairly be assumed and where intelligent coloni can be found the landlord will if possible exact cash rentals. But in Asia where crops were uncertain Gracchus instituted the tithe in kind for taxes so that the farmer might adjust his dues to the varying crop; and since the state could not go into the market with its share

the contracting associations were called in as middle men to provide the cash for the treasury and to market the tithes at whatever profit they could. In Egypt the miserable fellaheen could not take time for marketing nor was it desired since the government preferred to handle the raw products in its monopolies. The question of share-rents is therefore simply one of local conditions everywhere, and so it was in Africa. Here a large part of the country is semi-arid and crops are uncertain. Furthermore, the coloni were largely Libyans who hardly had bank accounts, or the transportation facilities for hauling their grain fifty miles to a seaport. The suggestion that under those conditions anyone should have had to resort to Egypt for the idea of share-rents would hardly seem deserving of serious attention.

II. 8. If a colonus removes his bee-hives to the *octonarium agrum* in order to defraud the conductor his hives shall be taken away. Seeck, *loc. cit.* p. 347, supposed this was land which paid a stipend of eight modii, Rostovtzeff, *l. c.* 341, conjectures eight denarii, but fixed and money rentals are not plausible here. The octonarius is probably not the subseciva mentioned above since that paid a share rental of about a third. It is more probably the stipendiary land which the Marian surveyors left here and there to the villagers of this region. *Octonarius* may be an old word used for land which pays a tax of one-eighth as decimarius is attested for tithe-paying land. Since Carthage seems to have exacted fourths (and in time of war even halves) in Numidia (Pol. I. 12) an eighth seems a plausible figure. In Spain it is known that the Romans exacted a half of the stipend that had been imposed by the Carthaginians. Of course we cannot assume that this was the regular tax on stipendiary land all through Africa, but it seems likely that it was the regular tax inside the Marian region on land which was too poor to assign to Romans.

II. 13 ff. The crops. The regulations of the *lex Manciana* (I. 25) speaks particularly of wheat, barley, beans (all winter crops, for the *fabā vulgaris* is sown in November at Dougga), wine, olives, honey, and presently of figs. In the early part also it is assumed that the subseciva will be devoted in part to grain-growing (*aream, terere*). This is apparently the standard crop though one may well believe that by this time erosion had caused

much damage by thinning the soil on these hillsides. Vines grow fairly well in the region, but Trajan's order is explicit (II. 24) in permitting new vineyard only in the place of old, hence not on the subseciva. This is not proof that Domitian's orders restricting vine-growing in the province has not been revoked. It may only mean that Trajan did not wish to offend public opinion in Italy by encouraging the importation of wine from imperial estates of the provinces.

New olive groves are apparently to be planted only on the subseciva (III, 2), with the intention, it seems, of sparing the flatter land for grain culture. There seems to be no restriction as to where figs may be planted if I understand the trend of the fragmentary lines II, 13-17. For l. 15 where about fourteen letters are missing I should suggest reading: *ut non amplius IV [modiis(?) percipi]at*, and translate "In the case of fig trees that stand outside the villa orchard, if the grove be on the farm and the colonus does not harvest more than four modii(?) of fruit from it, he shall owe to the conductor the regular share of dry figs, but at his own estimation." The regulation seems to recognize the importance of letting each farmer have a few fig trees about his lot for home use without too strict surveillance as to shares. It is well known how important an item the dry fig was in the daily fare of the poor African farmer (*panisque simul et obsonii vicem implent*, Pliny N. H. XV. 82, cited by Rostovtzeff, p. 346).

In the case of all trees and vines a remission of tax for a few years is of course granted though the period seems rather short. Five years' remission is allowed in the case of vines, figs, and for olives grafted on the oleaster, ten years for olives that are planted. Since the olive planted from seed requires fifteen years to bear well we must assume that the colonus is expected to spend some funds in purchasing well advanced stock. Hadrian's rule is more generous (Ain Ouassel, III, 10), allowing ten years for grafted as well as planted olives and seven for all other fruit trees. It is sometimes assumed that the *lex Manciana* allowed ten and five years of actual harvest but in one case (II, 28) *postquam scita* is very explicit evidence against that view. It must be remembered that the colonus can all the while draw some profits from sowing grain between the rows of immature plants. However it is a mistake to suppose that

the remission provided a great inducement to plant. It did not. The encouragement, such as it was, lay in the grant of *usum proprium*.

In general it is difficult to see in these regulations of the *lex Manciana* and of Trajan any tendency away from grain-raising, though a further development of the rough land for olives and figs and, where possible, for grain is recognized as desirable. Hadrian's grant of longer terms of remission, of definite heritable title and threat of revocation of rights in case of neglect shows a more definite policy. Finally Hadrian's general *lex de rudibus agris* concerns the whole of Africa; but the phrases found in Trajan's *lex* apply only to the Marian region and must not be used in reconstructing the economic history of the province as a whole.

III. 12-20. We do not get much information about grazing though there is much land here fit only for sheep growing. The *coloni* may keep sheep, presumably also on the rough land, and the dues are very small: only four asses a year per head. Perhaps the intention was to encourage the *coloni* to provide their own wool. Children might tend the sheep and the women make the homespun. But it is also apparent that grain and olives were to be given right of way when any tenant wished to cultivate rough land. The reason why vetch is not to be taxed may be to provide cheap fodder for sheep through the dry months when even on these hills the grass is parched.

IV. 1. Having specified the shares payable on all products and laid down the necessary restrictions, the *lex* returns in the fourth column to a definition of property rights which the emphyteutic planter shall acquire and to the penalties of forfeiture that follow the failure to cultivate the reclaimed plot. It is clear from IV. 10 (*ex inculto*) that this paragraph refers only to the *ager rudis* which might be sown in grain (I. 6-10) or planted in olives (III. 2) and presumably in figs (II. 20-24); and in this region the *ager rudis* of the *lex Manciana* was *subseciva*, that is, rough *ager publicus* which Mancian and his like have enclosed without due title. In attempting to comprehend the severely shattered passage we must bear in mind that the *lex Manciana* could hardly have conveyed clear titles to this land and that the restorations of Gradenwitz (Bruns, *Fontes*), of Seeck, approved by Dessau in *C. I. L.* ad loc., and of Schulten,

approved by Girard (loc. cit.) and Rostovtzeff, *Kol.* 347, are unlikely because they assume explicit titles to the property. In fact the restorations proposed result in heavy circumlocutions where very simple property rights are assumed by all of these scholars. If, however, the *lex Manciana* had only the conditional rights of enclosed state property to convey we can understand why the terminology is involved. Bearing in mind these conditions we might assume the passage to have defined the meaning of *usum proprium* somewhat as follows:

*Si qui in fundo Ville Mag-*  
ne sive Mappalie Sige in agro inculto arbores frugiferos se-  
verunt severint, eius agri usum proprium habeant ut ii  
qui e legitima emptione in possessionem venient vel ex  
testamento heredes instituti erunt. Si illi agri sup-  
erficiessive per hoc tempts lege Manciana alicui pigno-  
ri tutelae fiducieve data sunt dabuntur, hoc in fu-  
turum jus fiduciae lege Manciana servabitur.<sup>13</sup>

That is to say, the clause probably repeated in the first part the phrasing of the *lex Manciana* which could only have conveyed quasi-possession, and then it continues in the words of Trajan's procurators to protect such mortgages and pledges as had been entered against the property on the basis of Mancian's conveyances. We have noticed above that Hadrian's *lex de rudibus agris* probably conveyed definite titles to squatters on such lands, so that in the response to the petitioners of Ain Djemala much directer language could be used by Hadrian's procurators.

The next paragraph (IV. 10-28) immediately declares forfeit all rights to the property if the squatter fails despite proper warning to cultivate it for two successive years, and that too even<sup>14</sup> if he has built a house upon the plot.

<sup>13</sup> "If anyone within the estate of Villa Magna plant fruit trees on new land he shall have *usum proprium* of that land as one who has come into possession by legal purchase or become heir by testament. If the said lands or their improvements have through this period, in accordance with the provisions of the *lex Manciana* been given to any one by way of security, mortgage or for guardianship, the security shall in the future be respected."

<sup>14</sup> The sense seems to call for *etiam si* in the lacuna of IV. 10.

In view of the fragmentary state of the stone we cannot be sure whether the privileges and threats of forfeiture applied equally to land cultivated in grain and to lands planted at considerable expense with fruit trees. But so far as the inscription can be read there is no support for the theory<sup>15</sup> that a distinction was made. Since building a house did not protect property rights over two years of neglect, there is no reason for assuming that planting could do so. Nor do we find in the other two neighboring inscriptions any evidence that a planter who neglected his plantation of trees could retain his property. Indeed Hadrian's law on lands *qui per X annos continuos inculti sunt* seems to apply to both, though of course it is not likely that land successfully planted in fruit trees would be abandoned.

IV. 23 ff. The coloni are required each to work on the demesne land of the villa two days at harvest time, two days at plowing, and an unknown number of days (probably two) at time of cultivating the growing crop. At the Saltus of Gasr Mezuar (*C. I. L.* 14448) the requirement is twelve days, four at each season. There the coloni are being illegally compelled to do more and threaten to leave the estate unless the Emperor Marcus Aurelius intervenes in their behalf. Finally the inscription of the Burunitan Saltus (10570), dating from Commodus, is a pitiful plea for imperial protection on the part of the coloni who claim that they are being compelled to furnish more than the six days legally required. These passages have been thoroughly discussed. Mommsen and the early editors of the Burunitan inscription pointed out (correctly, it seems to me) that this custom of requiring work on the manor land from the coloni may be a survival of community work such as was required by Caesar's charter from the citizens and incolae of the colony of Urso in Spain (*Lex Genetivae*, 98). There all male inhabitants between the ages of 14 and 60 are obliged by the charter to give to the municipal work under the aediles' orders five full days' work annually and the service of a team of animals for three days. It is an institution which reminds us of road-overseers in our western communities. Recent editors have been prone to question the appositeness of this parallel and have

<sup>15</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Kol.* 347.

urged the view that this corvée on the African saltus derives from Eastern state liturgies.<sup>16</sup> Some have even held that from this practice grew the serfdom of the later colonate.

The fact that an early private *lex contractus* (as the *lex Manciana* proves to be) contains this requirement compels us to look for the origin in Roman custom if possible, and the fact that heavy Egyptian liturgies resembled these mild *operae* neither in nature nor intent should have made for more skepticism than it has. In fact there is no evidence that even the later colonate of Italy has any connection whatsoever with the Egyptian compulsory labor.

Going back to the very situation in which the Marian colonists found themselves in Africa I think we can comprehend this annual personal service as a product of local conditions. These colonists settled in the midst of Numidian natives. They needed some forts for protection, roads to their newly surveyed allotments, and some shrines and temples. They had little ready money with which to hire labor for such work and they probably performed it themselves under the supervision of the *magistri* of the *pagi*. When large estates grew up the pagan organization disappeared in many places. The landlords assumed the responsibility for such things as temple repairs and directed the road-building where they needed it most. On many of these large estates there was a villa with lands farmed with slave labor by the owner or his representatives, a head-renter or a steward. The owner or his representative probably did not excuse the *coloni* from the days of community service when he took over the responsibility for directing it, but he may well have bargained for an exchange of tasks. If for instance he chose to employ his slaves at building a fort during some slack season he might reach an understanding with the *coloni* that in lieu of such work, which had formerly been done by the community, they should occasionally give their stipulated services in aiding at the rush season of the harvest. The absorption of *pagi* by large estates has resulted in a very natural custom which came to be specifically defined on Manciana's estate, and upon several others.

The existence of the custom is by no means an indication

<sup>16</sup> See Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat.* p. 315, note.

that labor was difficult to get or that slaves were scarce. It was simply an economical way of shifting legally obtained labor to periods of stress, and all farms have their periods of rush work. Whether or not slaves were readily available, no prudent farmer would care to buy enough slaves to cover the harvest season, for in that case many of the slaves would be idle through a large part of the year. And the exaction of two days at harvest time need not at all be distressing for the colonus of a small plot. On such uneven land as this crops do not all ripen the same week and the exchange of labor could have been carried out without injustice as is constantly done on American farms at harvest time. It is wholly out of place to compare this exaction of *operae* with the painful liturgies of Egypt, or even to assume that it grew out of similar conditions. It became distressing only when the lordly imperial procurators permitted the head tenants to save money by exacting additional services, but, as we have seen, the tenants quickly appealed to Rome and got redress. Finally I doubt whether we shall find traces of this custom in the regions not settled by citizens in *pagi*, unless it be that an economical custom were carried by special contract into other estates of Africa. At any rate it has as yet been found only in the Marian region and we must be very skeptical of any theory which assumes without adequate proof that it was a general custom even in Africa or that it left any marked influence on Roman social institutions.

IV. 27 ff. These last fragments also speak of *inquilini*, *servi* and *stipendiarii*, apparently imposing some guard service upon the first and last at least. We do not know whether these *custodiae* relate to guardsmen in general or to the watchmen whose duty it was to report crops to headquarters (III. 16). Possibly the same group performed both services. Of the slaves on the demesne land we have spoken. The conductor made his profits by farming directly the demesne land and hence could serve as the middleman between the owner and subtenants in managing the estate at large and bringing in the owner's shares from the subtenants. It is doubtful whether this system would have grown up if absentee landlords had purchased this property directly from the state. But if Marian settlers first accumulated the estates and built villas and gardens there for themselves it is readily comprehended.



We also comprehend who the *stipendiarii* were; the native Libyans of the villages like Yappalia Sige, Sustri, Thignica, etc., whom Marius had left with some property in the midst of his complex. Their land was of course not of the best and their tax seems to have been only an eighth. The *inquilini* are more of a puzzle. They may be villagers who had no land left them and who worked for a living for the conductor and the coloni. One line (27) speaks also of coloni inquilini; perhaps they are such villagers who prefer to live in the village but have taken a tenantry for a term. If the word has in any sense the meaning with which it was applied to northern folk settled by Marcus Aurelius in Italy, one might suggest the possibility that the inquilini or some of them may have been the descendants of Gaetulians to whom Marius gave lands (Caes. *Bell. Afr.* 32, 35, 56) though we are not told where these lands were. Their status must have been different from that of the ordinary *stipendiarii*.

In conclusion, the region in question was colonized by Marius in large farms given in full possession, in rather rough country and in the midst of Numidian villages. The conditions portrayed in the inscriptions can only be understood by a careful study of the region, the conditions of settlement, the history of the colony's development, and of the early Roman customs of colonization. To invoke putative parallels from Ptolemaic or Seleucid customs merely confuses the problems and misleads the historian as to Rome's procedure.

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## THE RECONSTRUCTION OF *I. G. I*<sup>2</sup>, 191.

In line 23, frag. 4, of *I. G. I*<sup>2</sup>, 191 appear parts of letters which have been restored *ex coniectura* in the Corpus as  $\Delta\iota\tau\alpha[\chi\sigma\sigma\varsigma]$ .<sup>1</sup> It should be noted, however, that only the bottom part of the upright bar of the  $\pi$  is on the stone and that this bar is directly over the center of the *alpha* beneath it.<sup>2</sup> Since the letters of the inscription are *steioichedon* the letter should be read as *tau* and not as  $\pi$ , and the line should be restored  $\Delta\iota\tau\alpha[\iota]$ .

Permission was given by the authorities of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens to remove the plaster from the reconstructed stele into which the various fragments of *I. G. I*<sup>2</sup>, 191 have been built and to test by observation whether the letters  $\Lambda\iota\tau\alpha[\iota]$  of line 23 might be a continuation of the letters  $[\Delta\iota\kappa]\Lambda\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\omicron$  of line 19, on frag. 1 above. Not only was the break below frag. 1 found to be exactly parallel with the break along the upper surface of frag. 4, but the initial  $\Delta$  of  $[\Delta\iota\kappa]\Lambda\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\omicron$  was discovered on the stone in line 22 of frag. 4. Fragments 1 and 4 should, in fact, be joined together so that the word  $\Delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ , parts of which appear on both fragments, may be restored to read  $\Delta[\iota\kappa]\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\alpha[\iota]$  on two successive lines.

This restoration determines definitely the number of lines in *I. G. I*<sup>2</sup>, 191. The entire inscription contained 29 lines of text, 25 of which were devoted to the lists of tributary states and 4 of which contained the prescript at the top of the stone. The height of the inscription was 0.421 m.

It is also possible, with the help of frag. 3, to determine the number of columns in the inscription and so to estimate the number of cities paying tribute to Athens in the first year after the transfer of the treasure from Delos. Frag. 3 is represented in Kirchhoff's Corpus as *undique mutilum*, but it preserves, in fact, its lateral face on which may be traced portions of the prescript and names belonging in *I. G. I*<sup>2</sup>, 204. It preserves also the upper surface and exhibits a narrow marginal

<sup>1</sup> The various fragments are numbered throughout as they appear in Kirchhoff's edition of the Corpus, *I. G. I*, 226.

<sup>2</sup> See the facsimile reproduction in the plate which accompanies this article.

dressings along the top exactly like that which appears on the top of frags. 1 and 2. It has been known for a long time that frag. 3 belonged in *I. G. I<sup>2</sup>*, 191, both from the character of the writing and from the fact that on frag. 3 the names are followed by the amounts of tithe accredited to each city. It is now possible to assign it definitely to the upper left corner of the first large stele devoted to the quota lists.<sup>3</sup>

Frag. 3 contains portions of two columns of names, and is so large that the first of these columns cannot be combined with the first column of the inscription as it is now represented in the Corpus. It must be placed farther to the left, and the inscription must be reconstructed to contain six columns instead of five.

The existence of an additional column to the left of the first column as at present represented in the Corpus may also be demonstrated by measurements on frag. 4. Part of the prescript of the year following (*I. G. I<sup>2</sup>*, 192) which must be restored to read:

[ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς] δευτέρας[ας] ἡὲ - - - etc.

is preserved on frag. 4 in such a position that the middle of the *tau* in *δευτέρας* falls directly under the face of the column of names in *I. G. I<sup>2</sup>*, 191 determined by the *mu* of *Μαιάνδριοι* above. It is clear, therefore, that the distance from the left edge of the stone to the face of the column in which the name *Μαιάνδριοι* stands must be the same as the space on the stone occupied by 17½ letters of the prescript of *I. G. I<sup>2</sup>*, 192. In this prescript it may be determined by actual measurement on frag. 4 that 11 letters occupied 0.222 m. Seventeen and one half letters would occupy a space of 0.353 m., which must be interpreted as the width of two columns, not as the width of one as represented in the Corpus, for the width of Col. I may

<sup>3</sup> This fragment is, in fact, the stone which Wilhelm assigned to the upper left corner of the first stele, quite correctly, although he did not realize that it had already been published as frag. 3 (Wilhelm, *Urkunden des Attischen Reiches*, *Anz. der Wiener Akad.*, 1909, p. 46; cf. also *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1900, p. 99). Hiller publishes readings taken from this fragment (not all of them correct) in lines 20-25 of Col. I in *I. G. I<sup>2</sup>*, 191, not realizing that the items were being duplicated from frag. 3, already correctly published as part of the same inscription.

now be measured accurately on frag. 3 as 0.182 m. This leaves a width of 0.171 m. for Col. II, which compares favorably with the known widths of the other columns of the inscription. Col. III measures 0.178 m.; Col. IV, 0.174 m.; Col. V, 0.190 m.; and Col. VI, 0.201 m.<sup>4</sup>

It is possible to compute from these figures the entire width of the first stele as 1.096 m. This width has never before been determined and yet it is of supreme importance for the restoration of the initial prescript which appears at the top of the obverse face of the large stele.

As it is now restored in the Corpus the prescript extends over five columns only and contains only 47 letters in each line. But since there were six columns the restoration of the prescript must be changed to conform to this new width. Five letters of prescript in I. G. I<sup>2</sup>, 191 occupy about 0.09 m. on the stone, and each line must be restored therefore with approximately 60 letters.

The following restoration is proposed:

[κατὰ τὰδε τῶν χονμμαχικῶν φόρον τῶν παρ]ὰ τῶν ἡ[ε]λλ[ε]νοτ[η]αμῶν  
 ho[is . . . ? . . . ]  
 [.ἐγγραμμάτευε ἐπὶ τῆς πρότεσ ἀρχῆς τοῖς] τριάκο[ντα ἀπ]εφάνθε[σα]ν  
 [ἀπαρχαῖ]  
 [τοῖς ταμίαισι τῶν τῆς θεῶ ἐπὶ Ἀρίστονος ἀ]ρχοντος Ἀ[θεν]αίοις  
 μὲν ἀ[πὸ τοῦ ταλ]  
 [άντο]

This restoration includes the date by ἀρχή (ἐπὶ τῆς πρότεσ ἀρχῆς) which is used throughout as a method of dating the quota lists, and, in line 3, it follows the sense of the prescript of I. G. I<sup>2</sup>, 220. At the end of the first line seven letter spaces must be left unrestored (not eight as in I. G. I, 226) and the ends of lines 2 and 3 have been made to conform with line 1 in the *stoichedon* arrangement of the letters.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The number of tributary states whose quotas were recorded was, accordingly, app. 140, allowing for the double line entries. This differs radically from the estimate of 250 given by Cavaignac, *L'Histoire Financière d'Athènes au Vme Siècle*, pp. xxxii-xxxiv. But all of Cavaignac's conclusions on the pages cited are based on false hypothesis.

<sup>5</sup> The restoration of I. G. I<sup>2</sup>, 191, is correct at the end of line 1, but there is one letter too many at the ends of lines 2 and 3.

In the body of the inscription itself the following changes have been made from the text as it appears in the Corpus.<sup>6</sup>

In Col. I:

line 17: read [Τελ]ε[μίστ]τ[ωι].

line 24: the numerals preserved on the stone are [Γ

line 25: read [Θραυε]ταυ Δ[ΓΓΓ]. For the restoration of the numeral cf. *I. G. I*<sup>2</sup>, 192.

line 26: read ?[Μαδνασέ]ε: Η[Η]

In Col. II:

lines 25 and 26: read

[Διές καὶ Ὀλοφύ]χσ  
[ωι ἐχς \*Αθτ: Η]ΔΔΔΓΓΓ||

In line 25 the two letters *chi* and *sigma* are both clear on the stone, and only by some such combination as that proposed here is a restoration possible. The tithe of Διές was one hundred drachmae in the first assessment period (*I. G. I*<sup>2</sup>, 194) and the tithe of Ὀλοφύχσ was thirty three and one third drachmae (*ibid.*). Their combined tithe, therefore, would be ΗΔΔΔΓΓΓ|| as restored above.

In Col. III:

line 13: restore the numeral as [H instead of [HH. The reading of Pittakys (*L'Ancienne Athènes*, p. 433) is [HH, but this is his method throughout for writing [H.

line 16: restore the numeral as [HHH instead of [HHHH. For Pittakys' method of writing [H cf. note above.

lines 17 and 18: The Corpus gives in line 18 a variant on the numeral given by Pittakys in line 17, and in line 17 the Corpus gives a lone ΔΙ. As a numeral this reading is unintelligible, and we suspect that it is the two initial letters of Διδυμοτεχίται which have crept into the transcript by mistake. The numeral now given in line 18 should appear in line 17, but the last three

<sup>6</sup> The numbering of lines herewith refers to the transcript given with this article.

ο τ ] α μ ι ô ν h ο [ î ς . . 7 . . . ]  
 ά π ] ε φ ά ν θ ε [ σ α ] ν [ ά π α ρ χ α ì ]  
 ε ν ] α ί ο ι ς μ ν â á [ π ò τ ô τ á λ ]

haβ[δερί]ται: ΧΗΗ<sup>π</sup>ΔΔΔΓ

’Ολύνθ[ιοι]: Σκα

βλαῖο[ι: ’Ασ]σε

ρίται: Η...<sup>5</sup>..|

Σερμυλ[ιές:] Χ<sup>π</sup>ΗΗ<sup>π</sup>ΔΔΔ|

Μεκυπερ[να]ῖοι vacat

Στόλιοι: <sup>π</sup>... |

Χασταί: ΗΗΔ[ΔΔ]Δ|

Σίγγιοι: ΗΗ[ΗΗ|]||

Θάσιοι: ΗΗΗ

Μυσοί: ΔΔΔ| [|]

Πίκρες Σναγ[γελεύς

Κεδριῆτα[ι

Κεράμιοι:

Βουθειῆς:

Κυλλάνδι[οι

...ο - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

Να[ρι]σ[βαρές

Μυδ[ό]νες

Κια[ν]οί: Δ[|]|||]

’Αρτακενο[ί

[Ν]εάπολις

[έ]ν [Θρ]άκει: Δ[|]|||]

Βερ[ύ]σιοι hνπδ

τέι \*Ιδει: Δ[|]|||

Αῦλιᾶται Κᾶρες: [|]||

’Ιᾶται: Η

Παριανοί: Η

[Δ]ασκύλειον

[έν] Προποντίδι: [|]||

[Α]ἰγινῆται: ΧΧΧ

Μιλέσιοι

[έ]χς Δέρο: ΗΗΗ

[Μι]λέσιοι

[έν Τ]ειχιόσσε[ι

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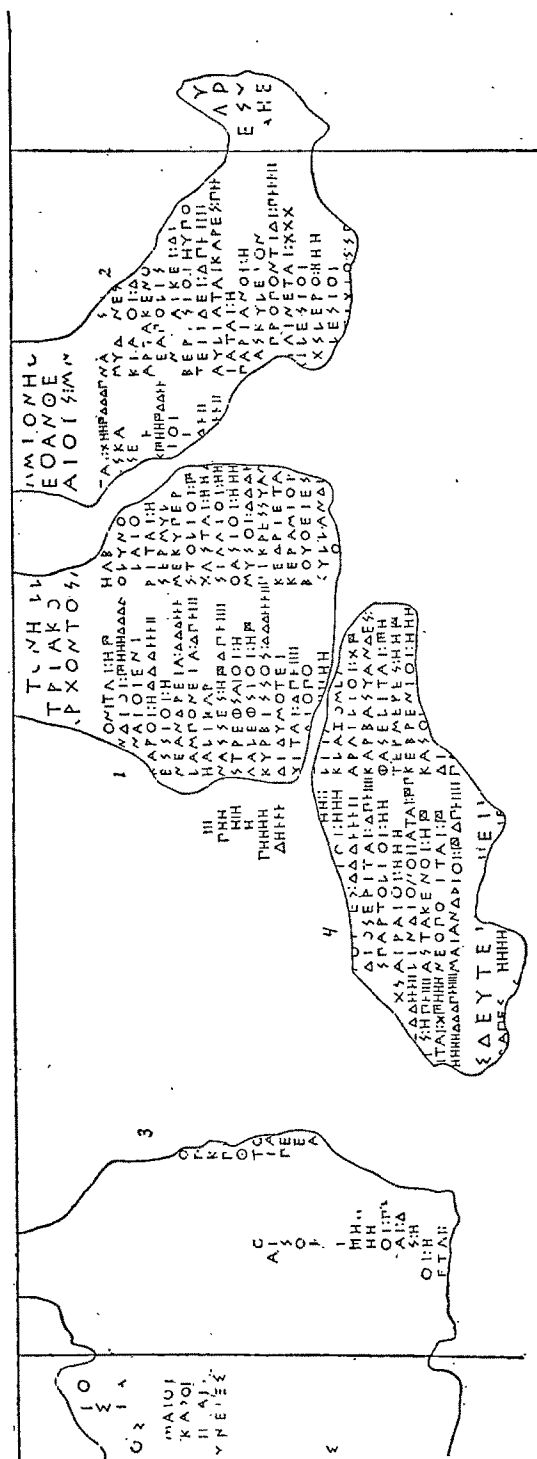
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## EPIGRAPHICAL SALVAGE FROM POMPEII

The older discoveries of painted and scratched inscriptions, a specialty of Pompeii, were carefully collected and well edited by Zangemeister and Mau in *C. I. L.* IV. Most of the originals were doomed to destruction through atmospheric agencies; and the exceptional difficulties inherent in the deciphering of delicate scratches, often carelessly made, and painted letters which sometimes were found two or three layers deep on the walls,—the white ground which was renewed for each inscription tending to fade more rapidly than the red or brown letters,—give one some right to assume a measure of latitude for emendation. All the more necessary is it to resist the temptation to restore at will, and to exercise severe restraint in the suggestion of new readings; I should not feel free to bring forward the present proposals if it were not that with the exception of two letters they accept the record transmitted by the *C. I. L.* and merely give it a fresh interpretation.

*C. I. L.* IV, 575:

VATIAM. AED. ROGANT  
MACERIO. DORMIENTES  
VNIVERSI. CVM

.....

M. Cerrinius Vatia was a candidate for office in the period after the earthquake of 63 A. D., as is shown by the frequency with which his name appears in these notices and the structural character of the walls on which it is found. The DORMIENTES VNIVERSI who apparently support his candidacy have naturally attracted the attention of the studious and the curious; M. Della Corta treats of them in *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* V, 1921, pp. 74 f., where he reads *Macerio (et) Dormientes universi cum* . . . , adding a learned and ingenious but not altogether convincing explanation.

It would be difficult to adduce a parallel in these election notices to the omission of *et*; and the name *Macerio* (*si nomen est*, as Dessau remarks in the index to his *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, III. i. 211), certainly deserves attention and arouses suspicion. It

seems to occur elsewhere only in Pliny, *N. H.* VII. 143, where the phrase *cui cognomen fuit Macerionis* gives the impression that it was a very special name. *Macero* to be sure is found at Beneventum, *C. I. L.* IX. 1260; but it is probably a vulgar form for *Macro*, which latter name occurs in *C. I. L.* X. 5405 and 7855.

If we assume a slip, ancient or modern, for MACERIA or MACERIE, or else an otherwise unattested neuter form of the word, we can interpret "all those who sleep in an enclosure," i. e. "all those with no proper abode of their own": perhaps a reminiscence of the housing difficulties at Pompeii after the great earthquake; it may be that Vatia's candidacy for the aedileship held out a promise of more houses for the destitute.

*C. I. L.* IV. 1343 a:

Surely this was the beginning of an hexameter:

*o tess-m . . . .*

*C. I. L.* IV. 1782:

Apparently we should read *Ionas sepe* (for *saepe*); and I believe also that *Ionas*, not *Lucis*, should be read in *C. I. L.* IV. 2402, 2403, and 2406; for the first and third of these latter inscriptions the facsimiles of *C. I. L.* clearly have A, while for the second one it is uncertain. Unfortunately, if we may judge from Martial II. 50 and III. 30, the context (*fellat*) is not conclusive as between masculine and feminine.

If the name *Ionas* (Eng. *Jonah*) is correct, it represents an addition to our scanty store of information as to Hebrews at Pompeii.

*C. I. L.* IV. 3421, line 3:

Mau confessed his inability to understand the second word, the first letter of which he read as a P. In this script however confusion between B and P is easy; and the word (*h*)*erniose* is the obviously correct reading. This is a matter of some consequence for lexicography, as our inscription is the best testimony for this word: *herniosus* occurs only three times in literature, first in the Vergilian *Catalepton* XIII. 39, where it was restored by Scaliger from the Codd. *hirneosi*, *hirrcosi* (? *hirreosi*), *hirrcosi*; and at a far later date in Scr. Hist. Aug. XVII. (Heliogabalus), XXV. 6, and the Vulgate, *Leviticus*

XXI. 20; in both of the latter passages, moreover, a large part of the Codd. tradition gives a variant in spelling.

*C. I. L.* IV. 4138 (= E. Diehl, *Pomp. Wandinschriften*, 24):

For the current transcription εἰσι Τύχη σωζουσα I propose to substitute Εἰσιτούχη σωζουσα. Σώζουσα as epithet of Isis occurs in the famous *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 1380, line 76. The only other indubitable instance of the compound form *Isityche*, as the name of the goddess, of which I know is the Antonine inscription from Praeneste, *C. I. L.* XIV. 2867; since in the Flavian (or later) inscription in Greek from Rome, *I. G.* XIV. 1006, and in the Greek inscription from the Val Lagarina published in *Arch.-Epigr. Mitt. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, II, 1878, p. 193, no. 6, the words appear to be divided; in *C. I. L.* X. 2197 (Puteoli), *Isityche* is a woman's name.

The older material for this syncretism of Isis with Tyche or Fortuna was presented by W. Drexler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. 1530-1533, 1549-1555, II, 545 f., and by R. Peter, *ibid.*, 549 f.; and was summarized by G. Wissowa in the second edition, 1912, of his *Rel. u. Kult. d. Römer*, p. 359. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 3d ed., no. 1133, may be added; not so, however, *Oxyrhyn. Pap.* 1380, line 51, for it has been shown by G. Lafaye (in *Rev. de Phil.* XL, 1916, p. 81), and B. A. van Groningen (*De Pap. Ox.* 1380, pp. 18 f.), that we must take Τύχην Ἀγαθήν together = *Bonam Fortunam*. As Mau realized, we seem to have here the beginning of an hexameter; possibly it was derived from an invocation to the Goddess.

A. W. VANBUREN.

## REPORTS.

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA E DI ISTRUZIONE CLASSICA, Vol. LIII (1925).

Pp. 1-20. Per la storia della letteratura greca. Augusto Rostagni. A protest against the traditional practice of studying Greek literature as a collection of types or departments, instead of studying the life and purpose of each particular author. The prevalent impression that the Greek authors regularly wrote according to set rules is mainly due to Aristotle, with his scientific passion for classification, and to the Humanists of the Renaissance.

Pp. 21-62. Rassegna di linguistica classica. B. A. Terracini. A detailed critique of two recent studies in linguistics, Ernst Schopf, *Die konsonantischen Fernwirkungen*, Göttingen, 1919, and A. C. Juret, *Manuel de phonétique latine*, Paris, 1921.

Pp. 63-90. Epigraphica. G. De Sanctis. I. Gli Etoli ed Eraclea. The Heraclea of the inscription, *Suppl. epigr. Graecum*, II (1924) 257, may be either Heraclea Latmi or Heraclea Pontica. The Ptolemy is Ptolemy II, or perhaps Ptolemy III. The date is a little earlier than 243. II. Eumene II e le città greche d'Asia. The important inscription recently found at Brussa, and discussed in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, XLVIII (1924) pp. 1 ff., may be referred to the year 188. III. La convenzione tra Nicareta ed Oromeno (*I. G. VII 3172*).

Pp. 91-104. Un nuovo carme sepolcrale latino. A. Vogliano. A study of a much discussed poem which was first published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1923, pp. 358 ff.

Pp. 105-106. "Pro rostris, pro aede, pro tribunali." Tenney Frank. The statement of Festus (Lindsay, p. 257) that 'pro' means 'in,' as in 'pro rostris,' etc., may be explained with reference to the speaker's platform of the Temple of Castor at Rome. The platform was in front of the original temple, but later became a part of the sacred structure.

Pp. 107-160. Reviews and book-notices, notes and comments, list of new books received.

Pp. 161-185, and 465-493. I primordii di Aristofane. Augusto Rostagni. Speculation as to the political views of Aristophanes at the time he wrote his first three plays. The chorus of the Babylonians was perhaps composed of branded slaves, a detail which would recall the recent treatment of the Samian prisoners (*Plut. Per. 26*).

Pp. 186-207 and 513-526. Orazio satirico, Tibullo e Virgilio. Luigi Castiglioni. A long critique of some of Kurt Witte's recent outgivings, apparently much longer and much more courteous than the subject deserves.

Pp. 208-215. Iscrizione metrica cretese sul culto degli eroi. Doro Levi. Text and discussion of a tomb inscription from Itanos in Crete. It indicates that this city sometimes voted the rank of 'hero' to its distinguished citizens after their death, and permitted them to be buried in a special enclosure where stood a statue of their great legendary hero Minos. It offers a new word *γλάθιας*, which probably is a local word for some kind of festival over the birth of a child. Cp. *γάλα*, *γλάγος*, etc.

Pp. 216-230. Epigrammi metrici. Achille Vogliano. I. Comments on an inscription from Gortyna published by Doro Levi, *Studi ital. di Filologia class.* (1922) pp. 358 ff. II. The three Latin distichs published in the *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* (1924) p. 121, from the triclinium of a house in Pompei, should be read in the following order: *abluit unda pedes puer et detergeat udos; mappa torum velet; linthea nostra cave. lascivos voltus et blandos aufer ocellos coniuge ab alterius: sit tibi in ore pudor. [probrosas] litis odiosaque iurgia differ si potes, aut gressus ad tua tecta refer.* III. On two inscriptions from Halicarnassus recently published by A. Maiuri, in the last annual volume of the Italian school of archaeology at Athens.

Pp. 231-241. Per il F in Omero. Antonio Pagliaro. The writer is inclined to think that the digamma was actually pronounced in certain words at the time when the Homeric poems were composed.

Pp. 242-243. *Qui non risere parentes* (Verg. Ecl. IV 62). Remigio Sabbadini. A suggestion that Quintilian's famous comment on Vergil, Ecl. IV 62, may have been due to a misunderstanding. His manuscript may have had *qui* with the meaning of *cui*, as our later manuscripts sometimes have. It is thus unnecessary to 'emend' his *parentes* to *parenti*. See his note on the three forms, *qui*, *quoi*, and *cui*, at I 7, 27.

Pp. 244-246. Miscellanea. G. De Sanctis. I. Agatocle di Cizico. Agathocles of Cyzicus (historian of the third century B. C.) is sometimes called the Babylonian. He was probably born at Cyzicus, but after entering the service of Seleucus Nicator he may very well have called himself a native of Seleucia on the Tigris (which was fairly near the ancient city of Babylon). II. I Giudei e le fazioni dei ludi. The letter of the Emperor Claudius to the people of Alexandria (see Vol. LII 473 ff.) forbade the Jews to *ἐπισπαίρειν*, or *ἐρεωπαίειν*, in the public games.

This means, to interfere violently in favor of one or other of the factions.

Pp. 247-297. Reviews and book-notices (including a long review of K. J. Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, Ed. II, vol. III).

Pp. 298-301. Obituary notice of Luigi Valmaggi. By Lorenzo Dalmasso.

Pp. 302-304. List of new books received.

Pp. 305-330. *Storia e scienza dell' antichità* in F. A. Wolf. Antonio Bernardini. The purpose and scope of the modern science of philology, as conceived by its founders.

Pp. 340-371 and 494-512. *Armate greche nel V secolo a. C.* Aldo Ferrabino. A detailed study of the sea forces engaged (1) at Sybota in 433; (2) in the great expedition to Sicily; (3) in Ionia and in the Hellespont (412-410).

Pp. 372-380. *La iscrizione di Volubilis*. Gaetano De Sanctis. The inscription of Volubilis (*Inscriptions latines d'Afrique*, 634) apparently refers to privileges granted by the Emperor Claudius to a Punic community which had been transformed into a Roman municipium. The title 'sufetes' may have been retained for some of the local magistrates even under the Roman rule.

Pp. 381-394. *Sulla cronologia del primo trattato tra Roma e Cartagine*. Vincenzo Costanzi. What Polybius calls the second treaty between Rome and Carthage should probably be identified with the treaty recorded by Livy for the year 348. The first treaty was probably made about 398, when Dionysius of Syracuse declared war on Carthage.

Pp. 395-412. *Nuovi studi sui Mimiambi di Eroda*. Achille Vogliano. Herodas, VIII 46-47, means "ed allora tutti mandarono un grido di giubilo nel vedermi calcare . . . la pelle dell'otre." The speaker is a woman. From verse 65 on, the poet speaks in his own person. Paul Maas is probably right in regarding I 30-31 as an interpolation.

Pp. 413-418. *Synodion*. Dino Gribaudi. An attempt to fix the precise site of the ancient city.

Pp. 419-464. Reviews, book-notices, notes and comments, list of new books received.

Pp. 527-541. *Sul diploma CII del Corpus*. Attilio Degrassi. Discussion of a military diploma found in 1898 near the ancient Sirmium in lower Pannonia. It may be dated 71 A. D. It seems to have conferred the right of conubium on some cohorts urbana then stationed in Pannonia.

Pp. 542-550. Uso ufficiale e familiare del praenomen romano. (Horat. Sat., II 5, 32-33). U. E. Paoli. A study of official and familiar usage in the matter of Roman names. The point of Horace's line is that slaves had no praenomen, and that the freedman is pleased at being addressed by a name which implies all his new dignity as a citizen.

Pp. 551-555. La chiusa della Poetica di Aristotele nel codice Riccardiano 46. Carlo Landi. The indistinct words at the end of this MS seem to indicate that Aristotle intended to write a second book on poetics, dealing with iambs and comedy.

P. 556. Parergon. A. Solari. The name Colle Pune (in Umbria) seems to recall the defeat of the Romans by the Carthaginians under Maharbal. There may have been an Umbrian *Pun-* corresponding to the Latin *Poen-*.

Pp. 557-608. Reviews, book-notices, notes and comments, list of new books received.

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#### GLOTTA. Volume XIV. 1925.

Pp. 1-13. H. Fränkel, Griechische Wörter. 1. *βρέχω* 'überfluten, zudecken, ersticken' (Pindar).—2. *ἐξονομακλήδην*.—3. *δαψωδός* contains *δάπτω* in sense of 'erdenken, erfinden' (not 'verknüpfen').—4. *περ* means not 'sehr' but 'auch,' in the various senses of that German word (agreement or concession), and is derived not from *πέρι* in the sense of 'sehr' but from *περι-*, Skt. *pári*, 'darüber hinaus.'

Pp. 13-25. H. Grimme, Hethitisches im griechischen Wortschatz. Argues that many Semitic loanwords were borrowed into Greek thru Hittite; thus are explained Greek voiceless for Semitic voiced mutes, and non-aspirates for aspirates, both voiced mediae and aspirates being assumed to have been lacking in Hittite. Further, the Semitic alphabet was imported thru the same intermediary. This is argued from the Greek names of the letters, compared with the Semitic forms of the names. The whole theory seems extremely conjectural and many difficulties are ignored or too lightly brushed aside: thus, the *φ* of *ἄλφα* for *\*άλτα* (which the theory would require) is an 'Anlehnung an ähnlich klingende griechische Wörter, wie *ἀλφαῖνω* und *ἄλφειον*' (whereas it would seem more natural to connect the *φ* directly with the *ph* of *aleph*).

Pp. 26-31. E. Vetter, Zur altfalskischen Gefässinschrift CIE

8079. Extensive amendments to Herbig's latest reconstruction and interpretation, *Glotta* 12. 233. It is interpreted as a gift-inscription, probably on the occasion of the *Caristia*-festival or *Cara cognatio*, whereas Herbig took it as funereal.

Pp. 31-33. P. Kretschmer, Ersatz von Doppelmedia durch Doppeltenuis. Finds a "weitreichendes Prinzip" (examples from Greek, Celtic, Germanic) "dass Mediae in der Verdoppelung, d. h. Dehnung, zu Tenues verstärkt werden"; especially in hypocoristic diminutives.

Pp. 33-36. P. Kretschmer, Mythische Namen. 15. Lityerses und Hyias. Λιτυ- 'Eegen': Lith. *lytūs* 'Regen' etc. + φέρσα 'Tau.'—Υλας from interjection ὕλα, whence the verb ὕλαω, 'cry.'

Pp. 36-67. J. Wackernagel, Griechische Miscellen. 1. Περσέ-πολις for Πέρσαι (original name of the city) + πόλις, by "Zusammenwuchs und Erstarrung" of the prior member.—2. Λευκαθέα < stem λευκαθ- (cf. ἀλκαθ- etc.) found in Hes. A. 146 λευκαθεόντων (to be read as one word, not λευκά θεόντων).—3. Δίβυες: Δίγυες (and derivatives; interinfluence of rime-words).—4. ἐπτημένος, ἄπτα.—5. κακοπατρίδας.—6. δηλείσθαι.—7. ἐκεκρατηρίχμης.—8. Κυδαθῆραιον (ν short, hence not from κύδος).—9. δορυσσός (2d part from σείειν, not σεύειν).—10. ἀνίη (to Skt. *āmīṇā*, 'Plage,' with ν for μ by dissimilation to originally following ς).—11. ἀποχεροβίστος.—12. ἀφίκεσο: ἀφίκον.—13. παυνόζειν (Thuc. passim; not to be emended to παυν-).—14. ὤς—ὤς (rejects Fairclough's theory, *Cl. Rev.* 14. 394 ff., that the 2d ὤς is exclamatory).—15. Orientalische Wiedergabe griechischer Laute (aspiration with initial ς, and in 2d member of compounds, as Syr. *snhde* for σύνδος).

Pp. 67-68. J. Wackernagel, Nochmals das Genus von *dies*. Zimmermann, *Glotta* 13. 79 ff., showed that in Rigveda forms from the strong stem *dyā-* are prevaillingly feminine. This is explained as due to the influence of the (prevaillingly feminine) rime-word *gāuh*, *gām*. *gāvāh* 'beeeve,' perhaps with the assistance of *prthivī* 'earth' (fem.).

Pp. 68-84. A. Wilhelm, Zum griechischen Wortschatz. Notes on ten words, mostly from inscriptions and papyri.

Pp. 84-106. P. Kretschmer, Das *nt*-Suffix. Starts with *ἀνδριάς* 'statue,' stem *ἀνδρῆαντ-*, which is not a participle but a diminutive formation, 'Männchen,' and so 'statuette.' The suffix is connected with the common Slavonic suffix used in names of young animals (and humans). The same suffix is traced elsewhere, and is held to have originally had a very wide scope, forming adjectives of appurtenance, especially geographi-



cal names, etc. It is found in Italic, Germanic, Illyrian (place-names, inter alia Tarentum, Byzantium), Celtic, and (rarely) in Greek (e. g. Syracuse, stem *Συράκωνρια*, derived by the Greeks themselves from *Συράκω*, name of a swamp, cf. Slavonic *syrŭ*, 'damp'). The same or a similar suffix is found with similar uses in pre-IE. place-names (Etruscan, Lycian, etc.); the question whether this is accidental or points to ultimate relationship is left open (cf. below, pp. 300-319).

Pp. 107-109. J. P. Postgate, On *ēsse*, 'to eat.' Against Vollmer's theory that the long *e* was an invention of the Latin grammarians.

Pp. 109-113. K. Kunst, *mugire* und *rugire*. The former not to be admitted of the roar of lions (against Leo—who ought to know, surely!).

Pp. 113-114. Th. Birt, Lateinisch S für griechisch θ. Support for Bentley's emend. Plaut. Stichus 720 *prothyme* (perhaps rather *prothymos*) for MS *prosumo*.

Pp. 114-115. A. Nehring, Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1921 (concluded):

Pp. 153-192. A. Nehring, Griech. *τίταξ*, *τιτήνη* und ein vorgriechisches *k*-Suffix. These words (quoted as meaning 'ruler, king: queen' by Hesychius) are traced to pre-IE. 'Lallwortbildungen'; meaning originally 'Väterchen.' Related are *τιτάν* (name, originally epithet, 'father,' of aboriginal gods) and other words. To be distinguished from this group are two other groups of words of similar form, (1) Lat. *titus* 'dove,' etc. (these are also sound-imitative but of IE. origin); (2) non-IE. proper names like *Titus* (of Etruscan origin). In *τίταξ* we must recognize a *k*-suffix of non-IE. ('vorgriechisch-kleinasiatisch') origin. The Greek language contains a number of other words of equally non-Greek origin showing the same suffix. With more or less confidence are quoted many examples, including: *στύραξ*, *φήληξ*, *πιστάκη* (*πιστάκιον*), *ἄρακος*, *σανδαράκη*, *ἄσακος*, *πίθηκος*, *ἄλώπηξ*, *λάρναξ*, *θώραξ*, *κόρδαξ*, besides a number of proper names.

Pp. 193-293. Literaturbericht für die Jahre 1922 u. 1923. Greek by Kretschmer; Latin by Nehring and Kroll.

Pp. 298-299. G. Maresch, Der Name der Tyndariden. From pre-Greek word connected with Etr. *tin*, *tins*, = Zeus; originally \**Τίνδαροι*, or the like, translated into Greek as *Διόσκουροι*, and at the same time retained with addition of the Greek patronymic suffix *-ιδαι*.

Pp. 300-319. P. Kretschmer, Die protindogermanische Schicht. Starting from the now general assumption of a 'proto-indo-

germanic' or indo-europeanoid layer of languages represented by Etruscan, Lycian, Lydian, and other pre-Greek and pre-Italic and Asia-Minor languages, K. proposes various conjectures as to the vocabulary, phonology, and morphology of this layer. Accepting Maresch's interpretation of *Turdaρ* (*ἰδα*), *Tur-*, he sees in the god-name *Tin-* a word related to Skt. *dina*, Lat. *-dinum*, 'day,' etc. The syllable *-ācr-* may have been a patronymic, cf. perhaps Etr. *-thur*. The consort of *Tin-* seems to have been Leda, *Λατώ*, cf. Lycian *lada*, 'lady, mistress.' From the root *dī-*, *dī*, 'shine,' may be derived, besides *Tin-*, the goddess-name *Τῑτώ*, 'dawn,' *Τῑθωνός*, *Τῑτάρ* (the Titans would then be old gods of light; contrast Nehring's interpretation, above, which Kretschmer does not consider; *Τῑτάρ* would be a synonym of IE. *deivo-*), etc. Various proto-IE. suffixes are conjecturally discussed, e. g. *-men-*, *-meno-*, *-mno-*, used as participial suffix in IE. The sounds which in IE. appear as voiced mutes became voiceless, and the voiceless mutes aspirates, in the 'protindogermanic' languages. The entry of the 'Hittites,' whose language is also 'indo-europeanoid,' into Asia Minor took place before the appearance of the Hellenic and Italic peoples in their historic homes, but probably later than the entry of the 'protindogermanic' peoples into Greece and Italy. The Luvian is as yet uncertain but may be 'indo-europeanoid' in a remoter stage. (Cf. now Sturtevant, *Language*, 2, pp. 25-34.)

Pp. 320-327. Indices, by P. Linde.

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## REVIEWS.

What is Rhythm? An Essay, by E. A. SONNENSCHN, accompanied by an Appendix, in which STEPHEN JONES and EILEEN MACLEOD have coöperated. Oxford, *Basil Blackwell*, 1925. Pp. viii + 228.

In this book the veteran classical scholar has availed himself not only of the phenomena of music and of verse, together with the vast body of writing that has accumulated about them, but also of the methods and results of experimental psychology. It is a book packed full of information, bearing everywhere evidence of careful thought, and yet the author modestly calls it 'only a sketch.'

The first chapter contains the author's definition of rhythm, which is practically applied, in Chapters II-VII, to music, isosyllabic verse, Greek, Latin, and English verse. Chapters VIII-X are devoted to syllable-measurement in English, quantity in English verse, and English experiments in classical metres. There are two appendices, rich in material and discussion, and the author has had the coöperation of two experimental psychologists, Mr. Stephen Jones, Superintendent of the Phonetics Laboratory in University College, London, and Miss Eileen Macleod, Research Student in the same laboratory.

After criticising previous definitions of rhythm, ancient and modern, Professor Sonnenschein states his own definition as follows: 'Rhythm is that property of a sequence of events in time which produces on the mind of the observer the impression of proportion between the durations of the several events or groups of events of which the sequence is composed.' The phrase 'events in time' includes all happenings in the realm of sensation which can be felt as rhythmical, together with the empty intervals (like 'rests' in music) by which they are separated. The author is not concerned with rhythm in space, but he suggests that the best terms for a rhythmical series in space are 'symmetry' and 'balance.'

All through the book emphasis is laid on the fact that the ear is the channel through which the impression of proportion reaches the observer and, therefore, in rhythm, we are most often not dealing with mathematical exactitudes: a sequence may impress us as rhythmical, although it is far from being mathematically proportioned, but it must be 'recognizably proportioned,' i. e. the 'ultimate test . . . is recognizability to the ear.' The term 'duration' implies time, 'the fundamental feature of rhythm,' but time in this sense must be carefully dis-

tinguished from time in the sense of tempo ('speed' or 'rate' of performance). The term 'proportion' requires careful interpretation, as Professor Sonnenschein says, from the psychological point of view, since there are in verse so many different ratios.

Such, in outline, is the definition. After examining the numerous tests to which Professor Sonnenschein has subjected it I have found it to be the best of all the definitions with which I am acquainted. It will be noted at once that it includes neither *ictus* nor accent (word-accent or sentence-accent). The importance of these influences in a very large number, if not the majority, of language rhythms, is fully recognized by Professor Sonnenschein, but they are excluded from the definition because the definition contains the absolute essentials without which rhythm is impossible. On the other hand it is possible to produce the impression of rhythm without *ictus* or accent, as, for example, in organ music when the swell is not used.

Emphasizing the differences between music and verse Professor Sonnenschein suggests that it is better not to use musical symbols to indicate the relative durations of syllables in verse but to retain the old symbols (—, ~, etc.) with the understanding that, scientifically speaking, a 'long' is often not exactly twice the length of a 'short.' Musical symbols represent durations much too exact, for the kymograph proves that in verse a 'long,' for example, represents durations which vary within wide limits. This conclusion is sound, in my opinion, and it must be admitted that the use of musical symbols has done much to obscure the real nature of many types of verse.

To classical scholars Chapters V-VI, on Greek and Latin verse, will be the most interesting part of the book. There is no difficulty in applying the definition to many types of Greek and Latin verse—all forms in which there is within the foot a fixed ratio of rise (ictused part) to fall (unictused part), as in hexameter and anapaestic verse; but the so-called 'irrational' feet, especially in iambic and trochaic verse, raise a difficulty. Professor Sonnenschein believes that there was an actual difference in duration between (for example) a spondee (— —) and an iamb (~ —) in Greek iambs, and hence a different ratio not only within the foot (rise to fall) but also from foot to foot (— — to ~ —). Horace (A. P. 255-256) felt the spondees to be a little slower, and Aristoxenus (Rhythm. stoich., II, § 21) seems to have felt that within the foot there might be a ratio between rise and fall that was not exact and yet was 'recognizable by sense,' i. e. by the ear. Aristoxenus does not allude to the ratio of foot to foot, but Professor Sonnenschein reasonably infers that probably he would have said that this ratio also

(irrational foot to rational foot), though inexact, was a 'recognizable ratio' and, therefore, rhythmical.

In the only type of Latin verse which Professor Sonnenschein discusses at length—verse in which 'accent may be described as a structural element, side by side with quantity,' especially the verse of Plautus and Terence—the problem of irrationality becomes still more serious. In iambic verse, for example, the movement was not destroyed even when such apparent groups as *senex qui* (˘ – –) were substituted for the iamb (˘ –). How could such substitutions be felt as rhythmical? This raises the question of the 'Iambic Law,' and Professor Sonnenschein retains the explanation which he first suggested in 1911 (Cl. Ph. VI): that the long of the iambic combination was not shortened but remained long, and that this length 'became negligible when accentual structure came to the support of the rhythm,' i. e. provided that in rises the short syllable was accented (*sénēx hic*). In falls, which are 'more difficult to explain,' he holds that the impure long was allowed by analogy (*vōlūptātem*). It is not probable that scholars will accept this view, although they will admit that these impure longs were not all reduced to the exact equivalent of short syllables. But that they were so far reduced in quantity that the ear accepted them as approximate equivalents of short syllables seems to be an incontrovertible conclusion based upon the whole history of the language. The author is consistent here at the expense of his definition of rhythm, for if these combinations retained their long syllables, how can a foot ˘ – ˘, containing two *morae* in excess for iambic verse, be rhythmical? The answer given is that the accents bring 'into prominence the ratio of foot to foot,' at the same time diverting attention 'from the defective ratio of rise to fall within the foot,' and that in English we do not feel similar cases to be unrhythmical, e. g.

| He crépt | into | the *shá*dow: | at lást | he saíd | ,

where *shá*dow is a disyllabic rise (˘ –). For Latin, however, it would have been far easier to demonstrate rhythm, if Professor Sonnenschein had admitted here, as he does in the case of the 'irrational' spondees in Greek (see above), that we have a reduction of quantity within these troublesome feet. In Latin this phenomenon is certainly to a very large extent a reflection of the pronunciation of living speech, quite apart from metre. Was not the same at least partially true for Greek, whatever may have been the exact nature of the Greek accent? Both Latin and Greek were after all Indo-European languages, although of course quantity, which seems to have been dominant in Greek, was in Latin subjected to the influence of a relatively powerful accent.

It is pleasant to read such clear statements as 'the early Latin dramatists wrote by ear rather than by any hard-and-fast rules,' and 'in adopting Greek metres the Roman poets had to adapt them to suit the needs of the Latin language and the demands of the Roman ear'; they did not 'ignore,' but rather 'utilized' the 'strongly marked accent.' Such statements are a wholesome corrective for much of the writing on early Latin verse, which proceeds as if Plautus, for example, wrote according to the numerus 'rules' which modern scholars have discovered by careful analysis; as if he consciously *aimed at* a certain accentual structure, certain caesurae—if we can be as sure as was W. Meyer just where they are!—certain collocations of words, etc. In my opinion he aimed at composing verses in a different medium (Latin) which to his ear had the movement of the Greek metres, and the foregoing characteristics were the *results*, not the *purposes*, of verses so composed. Thus all but the most obvious features of the Greek trimeter are obscured in its Roman counterpart, the senarius. It is questionable, for example, whether Plautus made any attempt at dipodic structure, although Professor Sonnenschein finds traces of it.

Among the new suggestions there is a theory of the Saturnian verse and an explanation of the presence of long syllables in the 'inner falls,' as the author calls them, of the senarius and septenarius. I have not yet been able to test these suggestions, but the second is very plausible and is based on abundant, though admittedly incomplete material.

Professor Sonnenschein describes his system of scanning English verse as 'an attempt to reinstate the foot (in the ancient sense of the term) as a unit of measurement.' Modern English verse is 'composite in structure'; it is not merely accentual and quantitative, but syllable-counting enters into it. His system takes all these elements into account, and there is a wealth of illustration and comment which can merely be hinted at here. It is a system which certainly works out very well in practice. The quantities of English syllables are determined with great care by means not only of phonetics and the evidence of the unaided ear, but also by actual measurements from the kymograph indicating the durations in hundredths of a second. The result is an elaborate series of Rules of Quantity (pp. 126-143). For practical purposes of scanning it is necessary to take into account only 'relatively long . . . relatively short . . . and intermediate' durations, and according to the measurements given a relatively long syllable *averages* about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  times the length of a relatively short syllable, cf. the theoretical ancient ratios of 2:1.

The evaluation of this material must be left to trained psychologists or, if possible, to those who are at once trained

psychologists and experts in English verse. As a layman I will hazard only two observations: first, since mechanical devices for measuring human speech have been rapidly improved in recent years, it is impossible to test Professor Sonnenschein's measurements without an exact description of the particular machine which he used; and secondly, the measurements given seem to be mostly measurements of words pronounced in *isolation*, not in phrases, lines, etc., as we have them in verse. Measurements of isolated words have great value, but it is with words in combinations that we are chiefly concerned in the study of rhythm.

In this brief review I have been able to give only a very imperfect idea of a book which will unquestionably be of great value to all who take an interest in the problem of rhythm and the mechanism of verse. Professor Sonnenschein displays a wide and accurate knowledge of the facts, and in their interpretation he is always very suggestive and often original.

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*Hermetica*: The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings. . . Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, edited with English translation and notes by WALTER SCOTT. Vol. I, Introduction, Texts and Translation; vol. II, Notes on the Corpus Hermeticum. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924, 1925.

The last few decades have seen an increasing interest in the development of ancient mysticism. The strengthening of religious feeling during and since the World War has served to intensify this interest. More and more, too, it has become evident that the Christian Gnosis, of which the first traces appear in the Pauline Epistles, as well as its pagan counterpart, must not be subjected to isolated investigation, but can only be understood as branches of a great stream whose current flows in many channels and through many centuries. That the literature, half philosophy, half missionary sermon, which goes under the name of Hermes Trismegistos, must be given its proper place in this development has been generally recognized since the work of Dieterich (Nekyia), Reitzenstein, Wilhelm and Johann Kroll, Heinrici, and Gundel. But the study of this literature was seriously hampered by the lack of a satisfactory text. Outside of the numerous excerpts in Stobaeus, which had been fairly well edited by Wachsmuth, the Asclepius Latinus, and the few chapters critically treated in Reitzenstein's Poimandres, scholars were compelled to use either the careless edition of Parthey, the French translation by Ménard, or the old text of Tiedemann.

Now the Clarendon Press is issuing a munificently printed four-volume edition by the English scholar Walter Scott, of which two volumes are at hand, containing introduction, text, translation and part of the commentary (through the so-called *Poimandres*), while the second half of the notes and the *testimonia* are promised shortly.

It is an immense amount of labor that the editor has bestowed on a very difficult and not entirely grateful task. 111 pages are devoted to the discussion of the authorship, the title, the circumstances in which the treatises were written, a critical review of preceding editions, the history of the text and the trustworthiness of the *testimonia*. If any criticism is in place here, it is that of excessive caution. First, I think, the editor has erected for himself a barrier to a complete understanding of the *Hermetica* by excluding from the edition what one might call *Pseudo-Hermetica*, were it not that the authorship of all the writings is certainly pseudonymous; for he has refused to publish the astrological and magical writings attributed to *Hermes*. Yet after the demonstration by Reitzenstein of the close connection between the *Magical Papyri* and the *Poimandres*—I shall presently defend my continued use of this title—it would seem to have been far better, had Mr. Scott printed at least some of the more important pseudepigrapha from the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologicorum* and other sources. That he is aware of the importance of such comparison appears from the references to the magical writings in the commentary.

It is also excessive caution that makes him say that there is no trace of ritualism and sacramentalism in the *Hermetic* writings. True, Reitzenstein has gone too far in his assumption of the existence of *Hermetic* congregations or brotherhoods even in pre-Christian times. But it is difficult to see for what purposes the *Hermetic* hymns should have been written, if they were not to be sung or recited at some occasion of common worship. Furthermore, I think I have discovered a distinct reference to such a congregation in *Libellus VII*, which is evidently a sermon delivered before an assembly. And when the preacher says: "seek a man to lead you by the hand (*χερσὶν ὁδός*—guide, Scott,—this seems to point to a prescribed ritual) who leads the way to the floors of *Gnosis*, where there is the bright light, pure of darkness (one notices here polemics against some—*Mithraic*?—cult where the *epoptes* was suddenly exposed to light after passing through a dark passage), where nobody is drunk, but all are sober (here again we have polemics against some sect which put the *μέβη* of the mysteries to a literal application)," we can, I believe explain the language in no other way than as accompanied by a ritual or sacramental performance on the part of the audience.



Again, is it not excessive precaution to reject Reitzenstein's attribution of our manuscript tradition to Michael Psellos, only to reach in the end the conclusion "it is not impossible that Psellos was the compiler of the Corpus"? This, by the way, Reitzenstein does not say at all. He merely states that the Byzantine wrote, or had written for him, the archetype of our MSS. The second possibility, that the Corpus existed before Psellos, seems to be the correct view. For although Scott believes that the alchemist Zosimos of Panopolis had not read the Corpus, but knew only Libelli I and IV, I pointed out many years ago (Pauly-Wissowa I, 1347) that Zosimos had before him many of the Hermetic books, at least IX, XII and XIII also; and I still think that when the alchemist says "go to Poimander and immerse yourself in the Crater" that he must have read I (Poimandres) and IV (Crater) as parts of one work which, in his opinion at least, went together under the former title.

As to this title, Mr. Scott, with the assistance of Mr. Griffith, has given a very ingenious explanation of the name, as meaning "The Knowledge of the Sun God." The name would thus parallel closely such names as Pibeches or Apollobex, "Horos the Falcon" (Pauly-Wissowa, I, s. Apollobex). Whether the etymology is correct the layman has no right to question. At any rate, it seems very much better than Reitzenstein's combination with the rare Poimandros, even though Zosimos's Poimenandros might be adduced in its support.

The establishment of the text must have been an almost desperate labor, since our MSS. are all comparatively late and the obscurity of the subject matter must have puzzled the scribes considerably. In addition, the topics treated, in their similarity to Christian ideas, offered much inducement to the interpolation of Christian thoughts and expressions. It is not surprising, then, that the editor has treated his material with a freedom which the Classicist will find unusual and which defies the canons of ordinary textual criticism. The editor has tried, however, to enable the reader to follow and control his procedure by means of an ingenious, but complicated and rather confusing, system of square and oblique, simple and double brackets and of diversified type, which makes the reading almost a labor of renewed text constitution. Naturally, in a work that is to all purposes an *editio princeps* opinions as to the validity of the emendations will vary widely and I foresee many years of criticism and polemics. The chief defects of Mr. Scott's treatment of the tradition are a) a disregard of the language of contemporaneous writings of Egyptian origin and a tendency to force the Hermetica into a mould of ordinary literary Greek; b) an almost sovereign disrespect for the textual

order: the number of transpositions of words, sentences and whole passages must run into the hundreds and it would be almost impossible to recognize the original words, had not Mr. Scott with scrupulous conscientiousness reprinted every transposition in its traditional place.

A few points among the many where the reviewer finds himself unable to agree with the editor may be mentioned by way of illustration.

Page 114, line 21 ἀκολιῶς πεπειραμένον is marked by S. as corrupt; he conjectures δυσκόλως ἐπαιρόμενον; nearer to the MS. we may read σκολιῶς ἐσπειραμένον = "whirling confusedly," to describe the result of the φῶσις τεταραγμένη.

P. 116, 1: S. transposes ὡς εἰκάσαι φωνὴν φωτός and changes it to εἰκάσαι < με > φωνῆν < εἶναι τοῦ > φωτός; perhaps: φωνῇ φωτός = "voice of a man?"

116, 9 read ὁ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φαινοῦ?

The title of Libellus III, δόξα πάντων ὁ θεός = "God is the glory of all things" seems to be all right and calls for no change.

146, 5: S. athetizes the words καὶ θεοὶ πάντες. But the passage seems to make good sense: ἐπάγη ἐξ ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας στοχεῖα καὶ θεοὶ πάντες. From the moist matter were made the signs (of the zodiac) and all the (planetary) gods. The editor compares the story of the creation to the Stoic "diacosmesis," but 146, 7 foll. seem to me to bear a fairly close resemblance to the passage in the Poimandres which even according to Scott is rather reminiscent of the Platonic doctrine. The interpretation of the θεοὶ as the planetary gods appears also to be borne out by sec. 2b, which on the whole is a mere doublet of 2a. And so I cannot see with the editor in the τριστος θεός of 3a "three of the four elements" (147, note 6). We have again the gods "visible in the shape of stars," i. e. the planetary gods to whom is attributed a part of the existing creatures, including plants. There are in the traditional text exactly seven of these: fourfooted, reptiles, aquatic, winged, all seedbearing plants, grass, flowers. One would like to attempt a specialized attribution, but for this a review is not the place. And in θεῶν δρομήματι I believe we can see a distinct reference to the great Sothis period of 36,525 years; cf. 3b (146, 18) δρομήματος θεῶν ἐγκυκλίων.

In Lib. IV, sec. 7, S. in discussing the Zosimos passage relating to this piece (the Crater), says that IV makes no mention of the heimarmene. That is true, but it leads me to assume that the alchemist read III and IV as one treatise and had in mind III, secs. 2b and 4. It is possible, however, that Zosimos was thinking of IV, sec. 8b. where it is stated that we must go through many χοροὺς δαιμόνων—a reminiscence of Mithraic doctrine?—καὶ συνέχαιαν καὶ δρόμους ἀστέρων, in order to reach the true god.

Ibid. sec. 9 (p. 154, 15), I fail to see any reason for the changes made by the editor; the αὐτό is the ἀγαθόν which gives us the beginning of what we shall know by the act of Gnosis.

In VI, sec. 3b (p. 168, 8), we learn that the material body is "gripped" (ἐσφιγμένον, choked, by the seven coils of the snake of evil, Apophis?) by seven vices or evils: κακία, πόνος, ἀλγηδών, ἐπιθυμία, ὀργή, ἀπάτη, and δόξα ἀνόητος. It is very significant, though Scott seems to have overlooked it, that there are just seven of these πάθη. It is tempting to see here again planetary influence; lust, anger, deceit, seem to point rather clearly to Venus, Mars and Mercury, and the malevolence of Saturn would fit for κακία; then πόνος would be Jupiter, ἀλγηδών Sol, and δόξα ἀνόητος Luna. The order, Saturn, Jupiter, Sol, Venus, Mars, Mercury, Luna, appears, except for the interchange of Mars and Sol, regularly as the basis for the planetary week (Boll in Pauly-Wissowa VII, 2557) and it is not impossible that we should restore it here also, either by the interchange of anger and pain, or by the somewhat unusual ascription of pain to Mars and anger to Sol. I cannot refrain from mentioning in passing that several of these also appear among the seven deadly sins of the Church: pride, anger, avarice, covetousness, lust, envy, sloth (the last in the German enumeration appears as "Traegheit des Herzens" which brings it nearer to δόξα ἀνόητος). According to the Hermetist, these πάθη are generally believed to be the greatest good, a statement hard to understand except on the sophistic assertion combatted by Plato that these evils give power, etc., and are therefore blessings. In reality, the text says, they are an ἀνυτέρβλητον κακόν. Scott translates the adjective "not to be surpassed," but it may just as well be "unsurmountable." Such it would be because fixed by the *heimarmene* to which the material body is enslaved. If my reference to the seven planets is correct, then the word γαστριμαργία, which Scott athetizes, becomes intelligible as relating to the gluttony shown by Kronos in swallowing his own children and we should have an additional parallel to the seven sins, of which one in the German is "Voellerei."

Lib. VII, sec. 2b (p. 172, 11) S. transfers the σκοτεινὸς περίβολος from its traditional place between the "bonds of annihilation" and "the living death" to the beginning of the paragraph, after the word χιτῶνα, because he thinks it means a garment. But the common meaning of the word περίβολος is "circumvallation, fence" and this meaning fits in very well with the frequent comparison of the body to a tomb. However, if the word *must* here denote a garment, there is still no reason for transposing it, for it may then have been applied to the winding sheet of the mummy, the εἴματα or ἱμάντες of the magical papyri.

Ibid. *στήριγμα* is certainly corrupt; *στερέωμα*, foundation, would seem possible, although it increases the number of images from sepulchral ideas almost beyond credibility. Is it merely accidental that the writer uses *nine* metaphors? In IX, 1 c, where the Hermetist tries to distinguish *νοῦς* from *νόησις* and calls the latter "sister" of *λόγος*, I can see no necessity for Scott's violent changes nor do I understand his comment. He evidently misunderstood the words to say that *νοῦς* is an organ (integral part) of *λόγος* and vice versa. But the writer speaks of *νόησις*, the manifestation of *νοῦς*. The passage seems to me plainly to mean: thinking remains fruitless (comes not into appearance, *οὐ φαίνεται*), unless voiced, speech remains senseless, if it contains no thought.

Lib. IX, sec. 3 (p. 180, 10 and notes 212): Is it really an inconsistent metaphor to use *φωτίζειν* as equivalent to *σπείρειν*? In thinking of the Christian view that the baptism of Jesus was his real birth—*σήμερον ἐγέννητά σε*—and remembering that baptism is also called a *βάπτισμα*, I cannot help seeing the same imagery here, though I would not wish to be understood as saying that the Hermetist was influenced by Christianity. Rather, I think it may be worth while to investigate how far this simile was used also in philosophic circles of the first post-Christian centuries.

Ibid. Scott, assuming that the word *ἀσεβείας* sums up the preceding wickedness, aethetizes the following words: *ἀγχόνας*, i. e. suicide by hanging, *κατὰ κρημνῶν καταφοράς*, i. e. suicide by jumping from a cliff (Leucas-motif) *καὶ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα δαιμόνων ἔργα*. But does *ἀσεβείας* really sum up? The wickednesses are: adultery, murder, beating one's father, plundering a sanctuary, atheism (this I take *ἀσέβεια* to mean), hanging, leaping to death. Again the mystic number seven! That there are just seven, is probably again due to astrological speculation; we may also think once more of the seven sins of the Church, and finally read the splendid discussion of the great wickednesses that lead to eternal damnation in Dieterich's *Nekyia*, 163 foll., to be convinced that the words are genuine. It is strange to find opposed to these seven sins three virtues, *ἀρετή, σωφροσύνη, εὐσέβεια*. I leave it undecided whether the number is due to the Egyptian Triad or to the Christian Trinity.

IX, 4b (p. 180, 29 and notes 214): it is difficult to interpret the words *τὰ κακὰ μόνος* (i. e. the just man) *ἀγαθοποιεῖ* as meaning: he finds good in the sufferings inflicted upon him. Rather, I believe, the Gnostic acts as a leaven, making the world good. Compare the Jewish story told in Menorah 1925, of a just man, who after death begged to be taken through Hell and "since then Hell has cooled considerably." The Gnostic is evidently "the salt of the earth." Neither can I agree with the bracketing of

the words: one man is ἰλικός, the other is οὐσιώδης. For the words which follow: "For the one afflicted with wickedness, the material one, as I said, has the seed of his noesis from the demons (cf. sec. 3—Scott's addition of the word νοεῖ and his change from ἰσχει to ἰσχων are unnecessary), the others, endowed with goodness, belonging to the οὐσία, being saved by God." That the syntax is distorted, is true; but there is no necessity of restoring good grammar in view of the glaring inconsistencies in construction found in other contemporaneous writings. In my own translation I have changed only the traditional οὐσιωδῶς to οὐσιώδης. The demons are again the planetary spirits which are ἰλικοί in the Hermetic doctrine.

To increase the number of disputable emendations would change this review into an independent article. A word ought yet to be said about the commentary. Each chapter of notes is introduced by a summary of the contents of the libellus concerned, which is, of course, governed by Scott's entire attitude to the Hermetic writings. Just as he has done far too much violence to the text in order to make acceptable sense, so he has here embodied the results of his constitution of the text. Any reader who knows Greek will naturally exercise critical control from the perusal of the original. But the purpose of the translation is presumably to enable principally theological readers, with insufficient knowledge of the ancient language, to form their opinions. It is therefore to be regretted that neither the summaries nor the translation give the exact text of the tradition, but the version of the editor.

It is a great blemish that the editor did not follow his principle of conscientious reproduction of both his redaction and the tradition in the translation also, though one wonders what such a page would have looked like. As far as the notes are not merely critical, but explanatory, they show an enormous amount of research. Whether this is not sometimes misplaced, is an open question. Undoubtedly it will be attacked in many details. To the reviewer its chief fault appears to be too much striving for consistency and logic. Any one who has even glimpsed the arguments of a Tauler or a Boehme will remember that precisely these two qualities are absent from the nature of the mystic and will not demand them from their Greek fore-runners. Less would decidedly here have been more. But the definitive judgment should be reserved until the remainder of the notes, dealing with texts where the acumen of the editor had less of free play, is at hand. At any rate, we ought to be thankful to Mr. Scott for his pioneer work. May he find many successors!

ERNST RIESS.

*The Comparison of Inequality, The Semantics and Syntax of the Comparative Particle in English*, a Johns Hopkins Dissertation, by George William Small, Instructor in English in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1924.

This Johns Hopkins dissertation on *The Comparative of Inequality*, by Dr. G. W. Small, is a study of the semantics and the syntax of the comparative particle in such a sentence as "The tree is higher than the bush." The dissertation is noteworthy in several respects.

First of all, the monograph offers little to which a reviewer can justly object. Two things only would the present writer wish much altered. He should have been glad to see a fuller treatment of the mood used in the Comparison of Inequality, a matter merely touched upon on p. 3. And he wishes that the interesting material of the two Appendices had been incorporated in the essay proper.

On the other hand, the dissertation calls for commendation on more points than can be mentioned in a brief review.

The study is built upon a broader foundation than are most doctoral theses, even those of an unusually high order. Although the sub-title, "the Semantics and Syntax of the Comparative Particle in English," seems to restrict the investigation to English only, a long and illuminating chapter (I, pp. 15-69) is devoted to "(a) The Indo-European System of Comparison" and "(b) The Latin and Romance Comparative Particles." While this chapter gives a summary of the views of former investigators in this field, it does much more. These views are keenly scrutinized: the weak points are indicated; the strong points are generously evaluated; and what amounts to a fresh and original interpretation is given of well known theories.

Again, the body proper of the essay, the chapters dealing with "The Temporal Nature of the English Comparative Particle" (II) and with "The Adversative Element in the English Comparative Particle" (III), offers more food for thought than is common in the better doctoral dissertations. Indeed, so agreeably surprized was this reviewer at this phase of the dissertation that he found himself exclaiming with the evangelist, "Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!"

Moreover, the study is remarkable in this, that, though discussing questions much and long disputed, our author has made his chief theses seem highly probable. Although it has long been questioned whether, in the Indo-Germanic languages, the Comparison of Inequality was expressed first by a particle like the Modern English *than*, a mode of expression briefly designated "the particle-construction," or by an oblique case after a comparative, "the case-construction," Dr. Small (pp. 15-20, 30,

etc.), contrary to the majority of scholars, gives strong reasons for considering the particle-construction the earlier.

Once more, divergent views concerning the original meaning of the comparative particle *than* in the Germanic languages are considered (in Chapter II, pp. 70-100). Some, we are told, hold that the comparative particle had a separative force as seen in the ablative of comparison; some, that it had a causal or conditional signification; and still others, that it had a locative connotation. Some waver between "the idea of temporal succession and that of a relative one" (p. 81); others, between a spatial and a temporal succession; etc. But it remained for Dr. Small definitely to formulate the temporal interpretation of the comparative particle in English and in Germanic. Says he (p. 70): "The comparison of inequality in English has two elements of meaning as we observe it from the earliest periods on: the *temporal* and the *adversative*. Of these the temporal idea of succession is the fundamental one for the expression of comparison, not only in English, but in all the West Germanic group and in the Scandinavian languages as well.

"The man is taller than the boy is = The man is tall, *then* the boy is tall. As in the case of every subordinate conjunction, we recognize a demonstrative adverb that has taken on a relative function (*than*), indicating, by the analogy of all subordinate clauses, that the clause of comparison goes back to a co-ordinate, independent clause and probably eventually to a paratactical construction of some such form as:

"He is taller; you are tall (contrast);  
or He is tall; you are not tall (opposition)."

Other theses of importance are discussed, but cannot be noted here.

Welcome are the full and excellent "Bibliography" and the helpful "General Index," each of which covers nine pages.

Dr. Small, it will be observed, dedicates his dissertation "to the memory of James Douglas Bruce, teacher and friend"; and in his "Preface" he acknowledges special indebtedness to Professor James Wilson Bright, "at whose suggestion this work was begun, and whose lofty attainments and rigid standards of scholarship have been a constant inspiration to me." In the judgment of the present reviewer, *The Comparison of Inequality* honors the memory of the distinguished Arthurian scholar who lately embarked for the happy Isle of Avilion, and reflects great credit, also, upon the eminent philologist who directed this investigation. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Dr. Small will give us other studies in the greatly neglected but fallow field of English semantics and syntax.

MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR.

C. Valerius Catullus. Hrsg. und erklärt von W. KROLL. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1923. xii + 293 pp.

It is a sobering experience to sit down for a week with a new well-packed commentary like this of Kroll to see what recent criticism has rescued from the region of cruces. Kroll's apparatus is brief, disregarding all MSS. but O and G, and even these when they offer only obvious blunders. His introduction, an uninspired account of the poet's life, is too summary; but at least it is free from conjectures, except for the very unlikely one that Catullus was his own final editor. After the ill-proportioned and tasteless commentary of Friedrich, Kroll's impresses one as comprehensive, reliable and steady. There are not a few new and apposite parallels from an extensive reading of Latin authors, and a very excellent harvest of pertinent passages from Hellenistic fragments is offered for the first time. Helpful and concise notes—grammatical, stylistic, historical, and even archæological—are supplied as in no other edition. Kroll has ranged very widely and to good purpose.

The text is usually conservative. The editor has frequently left the old crux (even at 54, 184), he has lifted some recent emendations into the text (e. g. 62, 35; 64, 324) and he has repeatedly defended difficult lines with success (e. g. 31, 13-14; 22, 7; 46, 11; 51, 13-16; 64, 148 and 296; but why not Hendrickson's *deiscas* in 98, 6?). I am not aware that he has obtruded any of his own conjectures into the text. Naturally there are passages where there is room for a difference of opinion, and in a few instances Kroll is in error. It is with some surprise that one finds the MSS. misreported in the very first word, but errors in readings are not numerous. *Bubulci* inserted in the text in 62, 53 and 55 without warning is probably a slip, since the note on the passage practically defends the MS. reading *iuvenci*. In 64, 55 he has not noticed that R's variant *terni* suggests *cernit* rather than the conjectural *visit*. What offends more than such slips is a certain insistence upon the obvious, which is not a virtue in editing Catullus. Is it fair to change *feri* to *fræti* in 64, 14; *mira* to *rara* in 68, 145; *succendit* to *succepit* in 64, 104; the good Ennian word *templa* to *tecta* in 64, 75? In such things Merrill's new text is usually wiser. Again in 64, 33).

quæ tibi flexo animo mentis perfundat amorem

it is doubtful whether one has the right to make three changes in one line in order to avoid a strange phrase, since at least nine-tenths of the literature of the Republic no longer exists to inform us what was the actual usage. On the other hand it is a mistaken devotion to the MS. to read *Nereine* in 64, 28, be-



cause in this case a variant of *neptem* (of the next line) has displaced the correct word, and we are therefore at liberty to disregard the MS. in this case. Certainly Allen's suggestion *Nerinarum* is preferable.

The reader will also feel at times that the poet's meaning has been lost in the bookish erudition of the commentator. A catalogue of rhetorical figures and of Greek similes is not as good a preparation for the comprehension of Catullus as an intimate insight into the life and times of the *poetae novi*. The meaning of *pietas* in the Roman family explains 64, 150 better than an inapposite reference to Euripides; at 64, 200, he will have it that Theseus had literally "forgotten" Ariadne because Servius says so; a good simile is spoiled by mispunctuation at 68, 56 in an effort to make it conform to Homer; no. 68 *a* is misinterpreted as an instance of the literary *recusatio*—certainly the refusal is literal (see A. J. P. 1914, 67 ff.); models and prototypes are frequently posited where no evidence for them exists; and the editor has too much patience with such harrowing comments as that of Friedrich on 64, 162: *candida steht proleptisch*, and with Cichorius' aberrations on the fourth poem.

However, such superfluities can readily be removed. The aptness and reserve of Kroll's comment on nos. 22, 29, 31, 62, 63 and especially on the verses to Cicero, no. 49, show him at his best. It is safe to say that the school editions of the next generation will pick many a pointed phrase from his edition.

TENNEY FRANK.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis Libri Decem. Editorum in usum edidit A. E. HOUSMAN. Oxonii, apud Basilium Blackwell, MDCCCXXVI. Pp. xxxvi + 342. 12s. 6d.

This important volume should be very promptly mentioned here, though any detailed criticism of it must be left for some more competent reviewer. The introduction discusses the relationship of the leading MSS, denying to *M* most of the pre-eminence it has recently enjoyed. It also deals with the omission of genuine, and the intrusion of spurious verses. The editor devotes a good deal of space to interpretation, and his Latin notes are delightfully crisp and lucid. In IX 241 there is a lonely misprint, *quam* for *quem*. A special appendix is added to deal with various matters of Lucan's astronomy. It is one of the best books of the year.

W. P. MUSTARD.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Seneca: ad Lucilium Epistolae Morales. With an English Translation by RICHARD M. GUMMERE. Vol. III. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925. 463 pp.

This volume completes the translation of Seneca's Letters to Lucilius which Dr. GUMMERE has prepared for the Loeb Classical Library. The favorable verdict pronounced on the first volume (A. J. P. XXXVIII 446) may be recalled here, for the same high standard is maintained to the end. On p. 221, l. 15, "whatever can be touched," seems to be printed for "whatever can touch"; on p. 341, l. 30, "if the object it affects is inside," for "if it is inside the object it affects." In one or two passages some people will prefer the old Nisard translation of 1838. Cp. p. 360, "alius eorum manus osculis conterat," etc., "or wearing down their hands with the kisses of those to whom," etc., "un autre baisant les mains de gens auxquels il ne laisserait pas toucher les siennes"; p. 420, "in tam occupata civitate fabulas vulgaris nequitia non invenit," "in such a busy community wickedness does not discover the ordinary sort of scandal," "dans une ville qui a tant d'autres occupations, on ne parle point d'une profusion, si elle n'est extraordinaire." On p. 52, l. 10, the printer has coined the word "magnitudinus," and there is an intrusive comma at the end of p. 442.

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## ON ORGANIZED BRIGANDAGE IN HINDU FICTION.<sup>1</sup>

### *Thieves and Robbers Differentiated.*

My essay, 'The Art of Stealing in Hindu Fiction,' A. J. P. XLIV, pp. 97 ff., 193 ff., implies, and sometimes expresses the distinction between thieves and robbers. Between them the line of demarcation is difficult to draw, because they are naturally or intrinsically related, and also because the texts themselves fail to draw any such line. Thieves worship Skanda (l. c. p. 100); the goddess of robbers is Durgā, to whom they sacrifice men. The latter criterion always means robbers, but it does not always show. On the other hand the generic names for both thief and robber are the same: cāura, taskara, stena, malimluca, dasyu, etc., which of itself unsettles the distinction in many cases. If the distinction is to be established at all it must, as will appear quite clearly, rest upon the difference that there is between individual and organized effort. The thief goes alone by night; robbers operate under chieftains and attack in bands in broad daylight. Robbers live together; thieves' lairs, as a rule, are solitary. In Sattigumba Jātaka (503) there is a hill: up-wind from it there is a robber village where dwell 500 robbers; under its lee is an hermitage with 500 sages. Similarly the Rāuhineya Carita describes the Vāibhāra mountain, near

<sup>1</sup> In continuance of the encyclopedic treatment of Hindu Fiction by my pupils and myself. The list of essays on this subject, A. J. P. XLIV, p. 97 ff., footnote, has since been increased by M. Bloomfield, 'Joseph and Potiphar in Hindu Fiction,' Transactions of the American Philological Association, vol. LIV, pp. 141-167; and by M. Bloomfield, 'On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction,' JAOS. vol. XLIV, pp. 202-242.

the city of Rājagṛha, as being the habitat of thieves' families by the hundred.<sup>2</sup> This number of robbers is conventionalized in Buddhist fiction: Sattapatta Jātaka (279); Vedabbha Jātaka (48); Ralston, Tibetan Tales, p. 286.

Robbers not only mass their attacks, but they also plan co-operatively, as may be seen in the case of the famous 'Despatchers,' described pithily in the last-named Jātaka, as well as in Pāṇiya Jātaka (459): "In a forest dwelt five hundred robbers, known as the 'Despatch-robbers' (pesanakacorā), who made the way impassable. Why, now, were they called the Despatch-robbers? Well then, of every two prisoners they made, they used to despatch one to fetch the ransom; and that is why they were called Despatch-robbers. If they captured a father and a son, they told the father to go for the ransom to free his son; if they caught a mother and her daughter, they sent the mother for the money; if they caught two brothers, they let the elder go; and so too, if they caught a teacher and his pupil, it was the pupil they set free." Brigand stories, as a rule, show nothing quite as finely wrought, but other evidence of organization is one of their constant features. Be this as it may, the atmosphere of the thief stories differs *totò caelo* from that of the brigand stories, as will be seen on every page of this essay.

*The Term Robber Used Generically, and Without Ethnical Specification.*

In Brahmenical and Jainist texts, but, noteworthy, not in Buddhist texts, robbers are mostly ethnic communities, living in villages under chieftains (pallīga) who, frequently, rise to the plane of rich and powerful kings. Only once in a while do these texts allude to robbers generically. Kathās. 29. 117 ff., a large force of undefined bandits fall in the dead of the night upon the caravan of the merchant Samudrasena, slay him, and go off with his wealth. In Kathākoṣa, pp. 207, 208 (cf. Mallinātha Caritra 6, 203 ff.), Davadantī,<sup>3</sup> by the power of her virtue, disperses bandits, whose ethnic character is not indicated, when they are attacking a caravan in a forest. Murderous hunters (vadhavyā-dhāḥ) are mentioned in Amitagati's Subhāṣitasāṃdoha 16. 15

<sup>2</sup> See A. J. P. XLIV, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This the regular Jaina 'verballhornung' of the name Damayanti.

among dangerous beings. Similarly, Mallinātha Caritra 6. 103 ff., where the robbers are called dasyu, cāura, or taskara; or 7. 737, where robbers raid (cāuradhātī) and burn villages. In Divyāvadāna, p. 4, a robber at the head of an army (balavāṇṣ cāuraḥ) endangers a caravan. Similarly, in Bambhadatta, Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen, p. 13, l. 35, occurs an assault by bandits (coradhādī), and ibid., l. 3, are mentioned two bandit chiefs (duve corasenāvaiṇo), Kaṇṭhaya and Sukaṇṭhaya.

*Robber Bands Defined Ethnically.*

As a rule, however, Sanskrit and Jaina texts (in all their dialects) feature instead wild tribes with ethnical designations. Bhillas (Bheels), Çabaras (Çavaras), Pulindas (Pulindras, Pulindrakas), Kirātas, Niṣādas, Nāhalas,<sup>4</sup> Kolas, Kambojas,<sup>5</sup> Tājikas, Ābhīras, Mātāṅgas, Puṇḍras, Barbaras, and Mlecchas, all of whom are regarded as vṛśala, 'low-down.' As early as AB. 7. 18. Viṣvāmitra curses his 50 older sons, because they are not pleased with his installation of Çunaḥgepa in the primogeniture: their descendants become the low caste Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Çabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas. In Suparṇakhyāna 8. 16. 2 the Niṣādas are said to know no sacrifice nor sacrificial formula. The Kirātas, the Kirrhadae of Arrian, along with other tribes, are counted as Çūdras, because they have neglected sacred rites, Manu 10. 43, 44. In Mahābh. 12. 59 a deformed, black-haired, red-eyed dwarf is the progenitor of the Niṣādas and Mlecchas that inhabit the Vindhya forest; ibid. 14. 29 Kṣatriyas flee into a forest, fail to perform their duties, and from them are descended the degraded (vṛśala) Drāviḍas, Ābhīras, Puṇḍras, and Çabaras; and again, ibid., 12. 173, the sage Gāutama begets 'godless progeny' with a Çabara widow, and goes to hell. Nevertheless the pernicious social tendency to turn every occupation into a caste or community<sup>6</sup> stamps these names, so closely entwined with the robber trade, with the seal

<sup>4</sup> This rare equivalent of Bhillas, in Vinayacandrasūri's Mallinātha Caritra 6. 146. 7; 7. 466, 469, 471, 900, 902.

<sup>5</sup> Manu 10. 44; Jātaka 543 (Rouse's Translation, p. 110).

<sup>6</sup> A touch of the same tendency occurs in connection with the ordinary thieves' trade; see A. J. P. XLIV, pp. 10 ff.

of a sort of respectability, and we shall find this idea carried out to a considerable extent in the practice of the fictionist.

These names have lost in the story books every trace of the ethnic or geographic meaning which they held in an older time and which they continue to hold with other writers. The non-Aryan tribes of the Kirātas and Niṣāḍas are known in the Veda; see Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 38, 109; Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 9. Çabaras and Pulindas (Pulindakas) figure in Atharva-Parīṣiṣṭa 10. 2. 5; 51. 5. 1 in very respectable company. Bhillas, Pulindas, Çabaras, etc. are all of them regarded as real tribes even as late as the Mahābhārata, where they are never mentioned without disparagement.<sup>7</sup> In fiction the entire list is synonymous with organized brigands. And their names are used without the slightest sign of differentiation, perhaps in the following order of frequency: Bhillas, Çabaras, Pulindas, Kirātas, Niṣāḍas, etc. They frequently, nay as a rule in the Kathāsaritsāgara, interchange in the same passage.

#### *Cilāta, Cilāṭī, and Cāilāṭeya*

In Jaina texts, and apparently there only, occur the words above, based upon Kirāṭa in its dialectic form cilāta. Two nautch girls, whose names in Hemacandra's Çāntinātha Caritra 2. 55 ff. are Barbarī and Kirāṭī, reappear as Barbarī and Cilāṭī in Ajitaprabha's Çāntinātha Caritra 3. 562 ff. The last-mentioned text, 6. 104, speaks of cilātākhyān mlechhān, 'barbarians called Cilātas,' and, 6. 855, 859, 860 of cilātaviṣaya, 'the country of the Cilātas.' In Mallinātha Caritra 8. 259 ff. there is a slave-girl Cilāṭī who has a son called Cilāṭiputra, or, by metronymic, Cāilāṭeya. Cilāṭiputra occurs also in Hemacandra's Yogaçāstra 1. 13 as the designation of the son of a Kirāṭī woman. These words carry with them always the opprobrium attached to the corresponding Sanskrit words. The Sanskrit correspondent of the metronymic Cāilāṭeya (Kāirāṭeya) cannot be quoted.

#### *Habitat of Brigands.*

The mise-en-scène of their activity is, for the most part, the Vindhya range of mountains, or the Vindhya forest. There are

<sup>7</sup> Curiously, however, a Çabara Kākṣivata is said in the Anukramaṇī to be the author of RV. 10. 169.



located the shrines of the terrible Durgā, to whom they sacrifice captives. Otherwise there is, as a rule, little or no geographical localization. When there is no mention of special locality an unnamed forest or jungle furnishes the setting. In *Pañcadāṇḍa-chattraprabandha* 3 there is mention of a *mahāṣaṇḍabhillā* 'a Bhilla that lives in a great jungle.' In VS 30. 16; TB. 3. 4. 1. 12 *Kirātas* have caves assigned to them as their habitat. To this there are occasional exceptions. In the novel of *Malayasundarī* (Hertel, *Indische Märchen*, p. 259) a Bhilla chief, *Bhīma*, lives in the *Rāudra* forest on the *Durgātilaka* mountain. A *pallī*, or Bhilla village, named *Siṅhaguhā*, 'Lion's Cave,' is mentioned in *Mallinātha Caritra* 8. 264; *ibid.* 7. 948 a Bhilla chief lives in the jungle *Sadurgādri* (*sadurgādrinikuṅje*). In *Hemavijaya*, story 216 (Hertel, vol. II, p. 275), there is a Bhilla village, called *Bhīṣaṇā*, 'Frightful'; its chief is *Bhīma*, 'Terrible'; with him live many other bandits, terrible as *Yama*'s servants, vastly cruel, like *Rakṣases* (ogres) that infest the night. In *Çāntinātha Caritra* 4. 159 ff. a bandit king *Siṅhacaṇḍa* lives with his beloved wife *Siṅhavatī* in a village called *Girikuruṅgikā* 'Mountain-Antelope.' All this is purely symbolic; yet in *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 80, King *Karṇa* conquers a rich Bhilla, named *Āṣā*, living in *Āṣāpallī*: according to Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, p. 79, *Āṣāpallī* is now *Āshāwul*.

#### *Caste Aspects and Low Character of Bhilla Tribes.*

These tribes are not exclusively associated with robbery. In certain moods the texts remember their quasi-caste character, and show the same Bhillas, *Çabaras*, etc. carrying on low, peaceful occupations, quite other than theft or brigandage. In *Nārāyaṇārcakathā* (Weber, *Handschriftenverzeichnisse*, II, p. 1162) Bhillas and *Niṣādas* are wood-cutters or wood-carriers; *yathā bhillāḥ kṛtārthinaḥ*, *vicaranto vane nityaṁ niṣādāḥ kṣāṭhāvāhinaḥ*. This is fairly reputable caste occupation. But in *Kathās*. 27. 124, as in *Manu* 10. 48, *Niṣādas* kill fish and eat them; in *Daçakumāra Carita* 8 (*Viçruta*'s story) a *Kirāta* figures as hunter of antelopes and tigers; in *Kathās*. 9. 74 ff., a *Çavara* catches snakes, and declares that he is a poor man who maintains himself by exhibiting dancing snakes. A Bhilla kills snakes, in order to rob them of the jewels on their heads in

Mrgāvati Caritra: see Hertel, *Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla*, p. 106. In especially ill repute is their occupation as bird-catchers and bird-killers. The sensibility of Kirātas in relation to this lovely aspect of nature is, indeed, at a low ebb: they listen for the lovely song of the kokila birds merely in order to spread bird-lime for them (Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche* 1041). A parrot is advised to keep away from the settlements of Bhillas, who shoot with poisoned arrows; to guard his voice; and to keep a lock on his mouth (*ibid.* 1129). These savages are, indeed, great parrot-roasters, as may be gathered from Kathās. 59. 40 ff.: A motherless young parrot is taken care of under the wing of his old father. A terrible army of Bhillas, making a noise with their horns, come there: the whole wood is agitated, as the host of Pulindas rushes upon it to slay its living creatures. An ancient Qavara sees the tree on which perches the old parrot with his young under his wing. The ruffian drags out of his nest the father, wrings his neck, and throws him upon the ground. The young parrot slips from under his father's wing, and creeps away. Then the rascally Bhillas roast some of the parrots and eat them, and carry others to their village. The young parrot is saved by an ascetic who tells him that he is a parrot merely in consequence of a curse, and will ultimately remember his former birth.

Among the Buddhists the Niṣāda caste (*nesāda-jāti*), living by itself in Niṣāda villages (*nesāda-gāma*) is in settled evil repute as a caste of bird hunters; see the Jātaka passages collected by Fick, *Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien*, pp. 207, 208.

In Pārgyanātha Caritra, 3. 819, 924 Niṣādas act as care-takers of cemeteries,<sup>8</sup> and in the same text, 7. 47, 719, Niṣādas (*Mātāṅgas*) are professional assassins, or executioners. In fact it is a cliché of Jaina texts at least, that, whenever such a person is needed—his name is usually given as Caṇḍa, 'Cruel,'—a Niṣāda (*Mātāṅga*) is called upon; see, e. g. Mallinātha 2. 50. Curiously enough, the Niṣāda is often more human than his master, for he lets his prospective victim escape.

<sup>8</sup> In Daṣakumaracarita 4 (story of Arthapāla) a Qavara woman carries a dead child to the crematory.

*Kirātas (Qabaras) as Cheats and Quacks*

Kirātas have also the reputation of being unfair in trade, *Pañcatantra* 1.13 (Kosegarten); 1.17 (Bombay); *Pūrṇabhadra* 5.21: 'Here and there to give short measure; to cheat customers constantly; and to charge exorbitantly that is the practice (or the nature) of the Kirātas.' Hence in Pāli the words *kerātika*, *kerātiya* (= Skt. *kāirātaka*) have assumed the meanings, 'cunning,' 'hypocritical': *Jātaka* 128 (Fausböll i. 461); 382 (Fausböll iii. 260); 477 (*duṭṭha-kerātiya-jana*, Fausböll iv. 221). These wild folk are also skilled in magic and medicine: as early as AV. 10.4.14 the wretched<sup>o</sup> Kirāta maiden is engaged in digging for a remedy against serpent's poison. *Kathās*. 123. 46, the son of a Bhilla chieftain restores by a sternutatory, made of the extract of a plant, a man who has been turned into a python by eating a gourd. In the story of Sanatkumāra two gods approach that monarch as Qabara physicians, and promise to remove the disease of his body, but even they cannot undertake to remove the disease of karma; see Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 28, l. 4 ff.; *Pārgvanātha Caritra* 6.1223 ff.; *Kathākoṣa* p. 36. In the same way a god assumes the character of a Qabara physician and cures all diseases in *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa* 6.402 ff. Collectively these traits, together with their main occupation of brigandage, reflects fairly well the character of the gipsy in the romantic literature of the West: brigandage, cheating in trade, quackery, and magic. So, too, like the gypsies, they have come to typify low-born, vicious people.

*Morals, Manners, Habits, and Character of Bhillas*

Accordingly, the morals, manners, habits, and character of Bhillas are, in general, bad or rude. In *Kathākoṣa*, p. 6, there is a story of rebirth in which the word *Pulinda* (*Pulindī*) points to vice and misery. *Ibid.*, p. 163, *Pulindas* are asked whether virtue or vice procures success, and they vote for vice. 'My life is a vessel of shame,' exclaims the Bhilla, named

<sup>o</sup> *Sakā*, pejorative: both Whitney and myself miss the point of this word in rendering it by 'the little one.' In AV. 5.13.5 *kāirāta* is, significantly, the name of a serpent.

Mātāṅga, in Daṣakumāracarita, in the second chapter of the Pūrvapīṭhikā, and goes on to describe how he and his fellow ruffians raid villages, drag the rich farmers with their wives and children into the forest, chain them up, and finally kill them. In Pārṣvanātha Caritra 3. 1095 the soul of the fratricide Kamaṭha is reborn as a repulsive Bhilla; see also 2. 800. In Amitagati's Subhāṣitasamudohā 17. 13 Pulindas are described as nistriṅgā dhūtamatayah caṣvaṭkhalāḥ, 'cruel, confused of mind, ever rogues'; their ingratitude is also emphasized in the same stanza. 'Wretched tāpasa (ascetic), you do not know the ways of the (polite) world, any more than does a Pulinda:<sup>10</sup> Thus, in Mallinātha Caritra 1. 341 the minister Vasubhūti addresses the ascetic who is persecuting King Hariścandra and his Queen Sutarā. Here pulinda means 'boor,' 'ruffian.' The rich tribe of the Mālas, to whom belongs the great poet Māgha, allow him to suffer from hunger, brought about by his wife's and his own generosity. They are therefore given the name Bhilla-mālas 'rude Malas,' Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 52. The ruffianism and the rude life of Kirātas is summarized aptly in Mahābh. 2. 1865: phalamūlāṇā ye ca kirātāḥ samavāsasaḥ krūraḥastrāḥ krūra-kṛtāḥ, 'they live on fruit and roots, dress in skins and perform cruel deeds with their cruel swords.'

Unchastity, or licentiousness, are to be expected with such folk. In the Southern Textus Amplior of the Pañcatantra 3. 13 (see Hertel, ZDMG LXL. 654 a hunter king lives surrounded by a thousand Kirātas. He falls in love with Sumukhī, the wife of one of his Kirātas, kills the latter, and compels his pregnant widow to cohabit with him. She begets her son, whom the king believes to be his own, and brings up tenderly. When the boy is five years of age he happens to sit with other boys around a fire in the forest. The king comes there too, and stretches out before the fire, placing his strung bow by his side. The boy places a burning fagot upon the bow-string, so that the string is burned, and the rebounding bow hits the king in the head, and kills him.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> are tāpasa no vetṣi lokamārgam pulindavat.

<sup>11</sup> Familiar motif, 'death by bow, rebounding after the string is chewed or burned.' See the author, A. J. P. XL. 25, note.

In Kathās. 32. 43 ff. Viṣṇudatta with friends comes to a Cavana village. They are entertained by a profligate woman who receives her paramour in their presence. Her husband comes in, slays the paramour, and goes to sleep. His wife cuts off his head. The travelers are accused of the murder, but are acquitted on Viṣṇudatta's representations who narrates the whole affair from beginning to end.

Nevertheless, the most important stories often turn the tables on these fundamental facts, and, with keen insight into the heart of fiction, develop the paradox that these robber folk have their virtues, and are fit agents in the happy dénouement of the tangle into which the story teller has thrown the skein of the life of his principal characters. Particularly stories of grateful Bhillas are very common. Of this in the sequel.

#### *Bhilla Women and Children*

The women of these robbers are on the whole rude, and occasionally repulsive. In Hemavijaya, story 46 (Hertel, vol. ii, p. 137) a Bhilla woman is described as being black as soot; as ugly, as though formed of unrequited love. Her speech is like the bark of a dog; her hands and feet are hard—therefore her name is Kupāṇi, 'Ugly-handed.' One need but look at her to know that she is calamity incorporate. She becomes wife of a king, and treacherously pushes her co-wife into a well. The barbaric dress of Bhilla women is described quite technically: in Mallinātha 7. 947, a chief's wife wears a necklace of guñjā berries, a dress of bark, ornaments of peacock feathers, and a chaplet of priyaṅgu creepers. In Hemavijaya, story 37 (Hertel, vol. ii, p. 115), a Bhilla girl, who is supposed to be charming, similarly wears a bark garment, a guñjā necklace, a girdle of peacock feathers; her hair is wound about with creepers. The women even of the great Bhilla chief Ekākikeṣarin have for garments the tails of peacocks, for necklaces strings of guñjā berries, and for perfume the ichor that flows from the foreheads of elephants (Kathās. 123. 49 ff.). 'Kirāta women pass by the pearl which accrues from the forehead of the elephant, and wear instead a guñjā berry' (Vṛddha-Cāṇakya 11. 8 = Böhrlingk, Indische Sprüche 3445). Even Bhilla children (bhillānām ḍimbarūpakāḥ) inject cruelty into their play. In Cāntinātha

6. 861 ff. they catch an adventurer, named Svayambhūdeva, tie him hand and foot, smear him with blood, and leave him in the forest. Vultures pick at him with their bills for a dead body, until the boys return in the evening, and kill the vultures with their arrows. They then release him from his fetters, take him home, and tie him up again, and plague him until they are dispersed by a female tiger which cuts Svayambhūdeva's fetters and carries him off, as food for her cubs. From this he escapes to further adventures.

*Brigand Villages (pallī) and Brigand Chiefs*

The rather technical name for a Bhilla settlement is pallī (e. g. Kathās. 10. 135, 136; Cāntinātha 5. 629). Bhilla chiefs are called pallīca or pallīcati. These chiefs, as a rule, have names that symbolize cruelty or ruffianism, such as Caṇḍasiṅha, or Siṅhacaṇḍa, 'Cruel Lion,' Siṅhaparākrama, Siṅhalaṅṣṭra, Ekākiṣeṇarin, Durgāsiṅha, Durgāpiṣāca, Caṇḍasena, etc. Or scarcely less significant are names like Bhīma, Bhīmala, Vin-dhyabala, Cīkharasena, or Dr̥ḍhaprahārin. The pallīs, though inhabited not only by the men, but also by the women and children, are gathering places for riff-raff of both sexes. In Mallinātha 8. 264, a pallī called Siṅhaguhā, 'Lion's Den,' is described as anyāya-puṅṣṇali-kriḍā-saṃketasya niketanam, which is, in effect, a gathering place for harlots. Corybantic dances seem to have gone on in these settlements: in Mallinātha 2. 571 there is mention of a pallī 'turbulent with the hallīsaka dances of the robbers' women.'<sup>12</sup> From such a village come, no doubt, the two nautch girls Barbarī and Kirātī (Cilātī); see above, p. 208. In Pālagopālakatīānakam, pp. 20, 24 two princes dress up as Bhillas, and dance in grotesque costume into king Mahāsena's palace.

*Occasional Grandeur of Bhilla Kings and Courts*

In marked contrast with the conditions just sketched, there are quite a few, rather lurid descriptions of the grandeur of Bhilla kings and courts. These do not at all tally with the average poor, vicious, and predacious gipsy-robber character of these

<sup>12</sup> Cāurabhūpallī cāurhallīsakakulā.

tribes. Kathās. 123. 48 ff., King Viṣamaçīla is conducted by the Bhilla chief Ekākiṣeṇarī to his palace, crowded with Çavaras, having its high walls covered with the tusks of elephants and adorned with tiger-skins. The women there wear the rude garments and ornaments described above (p. 213). The wife of the chief, having her garments perfumed with musk, adorned with pearls and similar ornaments, herself waits on the king. In the sequel the story goes on to describe Ekākiṣeṇarī's power, wealth, and even high personal character. Ekākiṣeṇarī offers the king in marriage his daughter Madanasundarī, of matchless beauty, born to him by a Kṣatriya wife. When the king consents to this proposal, the Bhilla not only gives him his daughter, but also a hundred camels, laden with pearls and musk. For all this splendor a touch of barbarism pervades the description. This type of the more splendid Bhilla is, of course, in the mind of Bhāravi, when, in Kirātārjunīya 12. 70 ff., he describes Çiva and his Gaṇeṣas, gotten up as Kirāta chief with band, terrorizing the forest, mountains, and seas, and putting to confusion beasts, fishes, and even plants.

A rich king of Niṣādas, of the paradoxical name of Satyavrata, 'Truth Devotee,' is mentioned also in Kathās. 25. 33; a noble (kṣatriyāgrāṇī) Bhilla chief Çikharasena and his beautiful wife Çrīmatī are converted by a Sādhu in Mallinātha 7. 945 ff.; and there are occasional touches to the same effect in the ordinary run of stories. Thus Kathās. 122. 4, Vindhya-bala, the Bhilla, comes to do honor to Vikramāditya, along with the reputable kings of Gāuḍa, Karṇāṭa, Laṭa, Kāçmīra, Sindh, and Persia. In Saṁyaktvakāumudī, p. 28, a Bhilla prince promises his daughter and half his kingdom to any one who will get him a certain magic horse that can fly thru the air.

### *The Dhātī, or Brigand Raid*

It is the business of these people to attack wayfarers, caravans, and even armies: women and loot are their objects, the men they generally kill, but sometimes sell as slaves. When prey does not come their way they make raids upon villages which they plunder and burn. These raids have the technical name dhātī (Prākṛit dhāḍī);<sup>13</sup> the word seems to occur only in

<sup>13</sup> Mallinātha Caritra 7. 437 (cāuradhātī); Jacobi, Ausgewählte

Jaina texts, though it is quoted also by the Lexicographers. A characteristic story in *Pārṣvanātha Caritra* 2.107 ff.; *Āntinātha Caritra* 6.1295 ff. shows how the cruelties attending such raids might be graded.<sup>14</sup> In the latter text a Bhilla chief, named *Durgasirha*, sends his ruffians to raid a village. Six Bhillas express their opinion as to what should be done there: the first proposes to kill all bipeds and quadrupeds; the second objects to killing the animals, only men and women should be slain. The third proposes to spare the women; the fourth wishes to restrict their attack to men in arms; the fifth to those that actually fight; the sixth objects to any killing, and proposes merely to rob all valuables. They are described respectively as *kṛṣṇalegyāvān*, *nīlegyakṣaḥ*, *kapṭalegyāyuk*, *tejolegyānvitaḥ*, *padmalegyāvan*, and *śukalegyaḥ*. The first three go to hell; the others are gradually purified. In *Pārṣvanātha* the first ruffian proposes to kill both men and beasts; the second advises that humans should be killed, but why the beasts? The third says, the men alone must be killed, not the women; the fourth narrows it down to men in arms, and the fifth proposes that only those who actually fight should be slain. Finally the sixth says, 'He who is without enemies does not have to kill any one.'<sup>15</sup> The six men are designated respectively as Black, Blue, Grey, Brilliance (*tejas*), Lotus (*Padma*), and White.<sup>16</sup> But the best of all is he by whom all persons are protected from enemies.

In the recorded *dhātis* one will look in vain for grades or even signs of squeamishness. In *Āntinātha* 6.894 ff. takes place a *dhāṭi* of Bhillas to a village in which lives a Brahman, rich enough to bedizen his wife's limbs with jewelry. She is plump; the jewels won't come off, so they cut off her hands and

Erzählungen, p. 13, l. 36 (cora-dhāṭi); *Mallinātha* 7.688 (dhāṭi); *Ajitaprabha's Āntinātha Caritra* 3.336; 4.205 ff.; 6.894 (dhāṭi).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. with the following *Māñbh.* 12.25, where a conquering king is supposed to vary his conduct according to whether he has met with resistance, or not.

<sup>15</sup> *Vinā gaṭrūn ghātaḥ karyo na kasyacit.*

<sup>16</sup> *Kṛṣṇa-nīla-kapota-tejaḥ-padma-sitābhidaḥ.* These six soul-colors or, as we should say, shades of character, are taken in an almost material sense; cf. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 102 ff.; *Uṛāsvāti's Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra* 2.6; 3.3; 4.2 ff.



feet.<sup>17</sup> In Hemavijaya, story 219 (Hertel ii, p. 281), the Bhilla chief Bharama raids the town of Ārāvāṇa, and carries off Dhanagrī, the beautiful wife of Dhanadatta. In Mallinātha 7.437 the village Dhanagrāma is raided and cruelly burnt up by a raiding band of robbers. In Mallinātha 2.577 ff. the robber Dṛḍhaprahārin breaks into the village of Kuṣasthala, where lives a poor Brahman, named Devaçarman. Just then his children had importuned him for a milk-pudding; he had peddled the village and obtained a little milk, grain, and molasses, which he had cooked into a pudding; then he proceeded to bathe in the river, prior to the feast. While he is away the robbers come, and one of them goes off with the pudding. The children howl in distress, run to the river, and tell their father that their pudding has been stolen while they were looking on.<sup>18</sup> The Brahman, red-faced with anger, rushes home, takes up a cudgel, and beats down the robbers. Dṛḍhaprahārin, perceiving that they are frightened, runs to their aid. A cow gets into his way, and he pitilessly butchers her with his sword. Face to face with the robber chief, the Brahman shouts, 'Wretched thief, you must be entering my dwelling, wishing to die. Without weapons, by my curse alone, countless numbers have gone to destruction!' The robber chops off the Brahman's head like a fruit from a tree. The Brahman's wife, Velāmāsavatī, runs up and curses him for a Brahman slayer; he slits open her belly, like a pumpkin. He sees the foetus in her womb, palpitating as if with fear. Pity springs up in his heart, but when he hears the children wail, 'Alas father, alas mother!' he cuts them down also with his cruel sword, like twigs of a tree: bereaved of their parents, they are in any case as good as dead. In the sequel of the story Dṛḍhaprahārin is converted by Jaina monks. Another conversion story, *ibid.* 8. 245, tells how the son of a slave girl, named Cilātī (Cāilāteya is his metronymic) raids the house of the merchant Dhanadatta, in Rājagṛha, and carries off his daughter Suṇsumā. On being pursued hotly he cuts off her head. This bandit also becomes regenerate.

<sup>17</sup> The storiette is told in illustration of upabhogaparibhogāu, the Jain rule against too much food and jewelry.

<sup>18</sup> This is a particularly aggravated crime; cf. the same text 7.716. In the Pāṇinian grammar a person who commits this crime is called paçyato-hara, Pāṇini 6.3.21, vārttikā.

*Bhillas Successful in Their Attacks*

In their attacks upon individual wayfarers, caravans,<sup>19</sup> or even armies, the brigands often, for the purpose of the story, succeed, but not rarely they are defeated. In *Pañcākhyanavārttika* 32 (Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 135) a Brahman, returning home, after having accumulated much money, is plundered by a Bhilla. In *Kathākośa*, p. 157, *Mitrānanda* and his warriors are attacked and dispersed by Bhillas. *Mallinātha Caritra* 7.90C ff. describes a successful attack of caravans by *Nāhalas*. In *Mahābh.* 16.7 *Ābhīras* attack in *Pañcanada* fugitives from *Dvārakā*, which is about to be swallowed up by the ocean, and take their women captive. In the account of *Upahāravarman*, in the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* of the *Daśakumāracarita*, King *Prahāra-varman* of *Videha*, traveling through a trailless forest, is set upon by a great throng of *Çabaras*, so that he is compelled to flee with his zerana under great difficulties. In the opening of the third chapter of the same text *Prahāra-varman* is attacked in a forest by hunters (Bhillas) and deprived of all his possessions. In *Vīracarita*, *adhyāya viii* (*Indische Studien* xiv. 110), *Çaktikumāra* hopes that *Çrenika* will find his death in the course of one of his adventures by wild animals or Bhillas. In *Delarāmākathā* (Hertel, *Pālagopālakathānakam*, p. 61) a force of Bhillas puts to flight Sultan Mahammada's army; fetter, abuse, and plunder the king; but, finally, let him go his way. An especially lively description of a successful Bhilla attack is given in *Vetālapañcaviṅcati*, *Çivadāsa*, story 24; *Kathās.* 98. 13 ff.: King *Dharma*, dispossessed of his throne by usurping relatives, starts with wife and daughter for the home of his father-in-law in *Mālava*. He reaches the *Vindhya* forest, and, after hardships, reaches a village of Bhillas, full of men that rob their neighbors of life and property, shunned by the virtuous, like the strong city of death. Then, beholding the king

<sup>19</sup> Caravans have their tactics: it is safer to travel in the middle of a caravan, because a strong band of brigands attacks in front; a weak band, in the rear, *Divyāvadāna*, p. 4 middle. But in *Bharaṭakadvātriṅgikā* 27 a *Bharaṭaka* monk who has been robbed in a caravan, pretends successively to three groups of people that he had traveled at the head, in the middle, and at the rear of the caravan, and is told every time that he had picked the most dangerous station in the caravan.

from a distance with his dress and ornaments, many Çavaras, armed with various weapons, run to plunder him. The brave king, bidding his wife and daughter escape into the wood, armed with sword and shield, kills many Çavaras who rush upon him. But the Bhilla chief summons the whole village. Falling on the king, who stands there alone, they slash his shield to pieces and kill him; and then the host of bandits depart with his ornaments.

*Bhilla Attacks Foiled*

Hardly less frequently attacking Bhillas are defeated, or they otherwise come to grief. In *Kathās*. 51. 160 ff. King Prthvirūpa, on his way to marry the beautiful princess Rūpalatā, is attacked by a large army of Bhillas whom he routs: with one crescent-headed arrow he cuts off the head of their commander. In *Kathakoṣa*, pp. 203, 204; *Mallinātha Caritra* 6. 145 ff., *Davadantī* (*Damayantī*), by the power of her chastity, disperses *Nāhalas* in every direction, because they, like jackals, are not fit for her husband *Nala's* sword. In *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 114, King *Siddharāja*, having warred against the land of *Mālava*, is returning to his own country (*Gujarat*). An irresistible force of Bhillas blocks his way, but his minister, *Sāntū*, takes horses from every town and village, and puts litters on every bullock, and, by thus assembling a superior force, frightens away the Bhillas. Quite incidentally (cliché) King *Kanakavarṣa*, on his way to marry the princess *Madanasundarī*, smites the Çavaras that inhabit the border forests in *Kathās*. 55. 98; or, Çavaras flee before *Agadadatta* in *Jacobi's Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus dem Māhārāṣṭrī*, p. 81 (stanza 239). In another vivid passage of the same story, stanzas 183 ff., a host of Bhillas attack *Agadadatta's* army, and scatter it to the four quarters of the compass. *Agadadatta*, on his own chariot, accompanied by his sweetheart, *Mayanamañjarī*, takes his stand in the midst of the forest, like a lion in the midst of a horde of elephants. The whole host of Bhillas flee, but their chief advances against *Agadadatta*, and the two engage in a duel which turns out to be indecisive. Then *Agadadatta* hits upon the trick of overcoming the chief thru the lure of *Mayanamañjarī's* charms: 'Make love to the Bhilla, my dear; sit down in the fore-part of the chariot.' When the chief sees the peerless perfection of her beauty, he fixes his

gaze on her, smitten with the darts of Love. Agadadatta hits him in a mortal spot, whereupon the dying chief says: 'I have not been slain by your arrow, but by the dart of the God with the flower-weapon. But what is there wonderful in this? Who has not been outwitted by Love?'

*Bhillas Worship Durgā With Human Sacrifice*

On the whole conflicts with Bhillas in stories figure rather incidentally, often by way of ornamentation; they are more interesting for the epic reminiscences which belong to all conflicts in Sanskrit literature, than for real inventiveness. The chief interest of Bhilla stories is in another quarter, being centered in two very dramatic motifs. On the one hand, human sacrifice to the goddess Durgā under her numerous names;<sup>20</sup> on the other hand, very constant paradoxical portraiture of good Bhillas, and, more particularly, of Bhillas grateful to victims whom they recognize as former benefactors, or as relatives of benefactors.

The worship of Durgā (Kālī, Bhavānī, Caṇḍā, Caṇḍikā, etc.), the terrible goddess that requires the sacrifice of human beings with the proper bodily characteristics, appears in almost every Bhilla story of greater extent.<sup>21</sup> Occasionally they kidnap for another's human sacrifice, or for some kindred cruel purpose. Thus, Kathās. 37. 36 ff., Tājikas find victims and sell them to another Tājika who makes a present of them to a Turuṣka (Turk), named Muravāra, who intends to offer them in the grave of his father. In Cāntinātha 6. 683 ff. the adventurer Sulasa is taken by Bhillas, sold by them to a merchant, who in turn trades him off to people of another tribe that has use for blood. Namely, they draw blood from the body of men into pots, and from it insects are born. These insects generate red matter with which they color garments, and such garments

<sup>20</sup> See Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 143. The same practice on the part of Śaiva ascetics, or Kapālikas, has been delineated in my essay, 'On False Ascetics and Nuns,' JAOS. XLIV. 212 ff. See my 'Life of Pāṇḍvanātha,' p. 205 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Among the names of Durgā figures significantly Kirātī, Harivaṇṣa 10248: Kirātī cāurasenārarnaskṛtām, 'Kirātī (i. e. Durgā) worshipped by hosts of robbers.'

serve as a red-colored armor when one is burned by fire. The last clause is not quite clear to me: *rakṣāpi raktavarṇā syād dagdhe tasmin kṛcānunā*.<sup>22</sup>

The bloody shrine of the 'dweller in the Vindhya hills' is regularly placed in that mountain region, and is surrounded by Pulindas, Kathās. 7. 24, 25. A characteristic human sacrifice is sketched in the account of Upahāravarman, in the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* of *Daṣakumāracarita*: On the occasion of an attack of a king's party in a forest, Çavaras capture a boy whom they propose to sacrifice to Caṇḍikā as thank-offering for their victory. They say: 'We shall kill him, either by hanging him on a tree-branch and cleaving his body with a sword; or we shall bury his legs into the sand, and make him the target of our pointed arrows; or we shall have him torn by young dogs as he is trying to escape on all fours.' Yet, when an old Brahman claims him as his son, they readily forego their scheme, make over the boy to him, and receive his blessing.

Kathās. 55. 215 ff., King Kanakavarṣa, in search of his lost wife and new-born son, makes a pilgrimage to the shrine of Durgā in the Vindhya mountains. A great elephant charges him; the king flees by a way full of holes, so that the elephant falls into a pit and dies. The king, overpowered by sleep at the foot of a tree, is seen by some Çavaras, returning that way from hunting, to possess the auspicious marks which fit him for sacrifice. Their king, Muktāphala, takes him to the temple of Durgā to offer him up. Kanakavarṣa bows before Durgā, and, by the mercy of Skanda, his bands fall off. The Çavara chieftain, impressed by the miracle, spares his life.

Kathās. 10. 128 ff., Çrīdatta carries off his beloved, the princess Mrgāṅkavatī; but, during temporary separation, she is kidnapped by horsemen. Çrīdatta follows her into the Vindhya forest, releases her, but again must leave her to look for water. He loses his way, and climbs a tree, in order to cast his eye in all directions for her, leaving his trusty sword Mrgāṅka on the ground. A Çavara chieftain passes that way, takes up the sword, and questions Çrīdatta. When Çrīdatta tells him his story, the chieftain invites him to his village, on the pretense

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *kṛmirāga*, 'dyed red' (with lac produced by an insect), *Rāmāyaṇa* 4. 22. 18.

that he will probably there find Mṛgāṅkavatī. Grīdatta accepts the invitation, and sleeps in the chief's house. In the morning he sees his two feet fettered, and is told by a serving maid, Mocanikā, that the chief, who turns out to be Āricanda, intends to offer him to Caṇçikā, but that his daughter Sundarī is in love with him, and that he should marry her. So he does, and is set at liberty by his wife's mother. He is united after stirring adventures with Mṛgāṅkavatī; returns with an army to the Vindhya forest; is defeated and once more about to be offered to Durgā; but is finally rescued by his wife Sundarī, who has in the mean time born him a son.

The human sacrifice motif is also introduced (Kathās. 61. 142 ff.) in a very romantic story whose chief traits belong to the *stri-veda*, or 'women's guile': A licentious wife, deposited with an old Brahman villager during her husband's absence on business, falls in love with a handsome Bhilla, and elopes with him to his village. When the husband returns, the old Brahman tells him where to find her. He goes to the Bhilla village, and his wife, in fear of him, tells him that the Bhilla had carried her off by force. Still infatuated, the husband offers to take her back, but she bids him await in a cave the security of night before their return home. When the Bhilla returns she shows him her husband asleep. The Bhilla ties him to a tree in order that he may, next day, offer him to Bhavānī. The husband prays to the goddess; she releases him; he cuts off the head of the Bhilla; wakes up his wife and bids her come with him. Secretly she takes the Bhilla's head with her, and, when they reach a town, shows the head, and accuses him of having killed her real husband. The case comes before the king who sees through her deceit, and orders her ears and nose to be cut off. The husband goes home, cured of the love of a wicked woman.<sup>23</sup>

Kathās. 56. 12 ff., a Brahman, Candrasvāmin, who is taking his two children to the house of his father-in-law, on account of famine, leaves them to look for water. A Ābara chief, Sindhadaṅṣṭra, meets him and questions him; then says to his followers, 'take him some water,' at the same time making a sign to them. They take Candrasvāmin to their village, and fether him, to be offered as a victim (to Durgā). But Candrasvāmin

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Benfey, *Das Pañcatantra*, i. 439; *Orient and Occident*, i. 127.

prays fervently to the Sun god, who orders *Sinhadaṇṣṭra* to release him.

Kathās. 72.1 ff., Prince *Mṛgāṅkadatta*, having performed sundry great services in behalf of *Māyāvaṭu*, king of the *Pulindas*, is living as his honored guest in his palace. One day *Māyāvaṭu*'s general of *Bhillas* brings in a wounded man as an offering to *Durgā*. *Mṛgāṅkadatta* recognizes him as his minister *Guṇākara*, who has been separated from him in the course of their adventures. *Mṛgāṅkadatta* embraces him, as he is clinging to his feet, and in due time hears from him his story: After their separation *Guṇākara*, roaming in the wilderness, comes upon the abode of *Durgā*. He enters her temple, in which were offered day and night many living things, so that it resembles the palace of the God of Death. He sees the corpse of a man who has offered himself, holding in his hand the sword that had pierced his throat. Grieving at his separation from *Mṛgāṅkadatta*, he, too, is about to propitiate the goddess by self-sacrifice, when he is dissuaded by a nun who promises him reunion with his master.

See also several of the stories given below under the rubric 'Grateful *Bhillas*,' as they bear more heavily on that rather than the present fase of our subject.

#### *Good Bhillas*

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of *Bhilla* narration is, that they are often depicted as endowed with high character; and as practising virtue, quite exemplarily. Especially do the stories dwell on the type of the grateful *Bhilla*; see below. One feels that there is something intentionally paradoxical in this display of merit, where it might be least expected; yet there is, too, something of reality and empirical experience in this conception of the 'noble savage.' At any rate most of the following stories respond to what we are in the habit of calling poetic justice.

In Buddhist, and more frequently in Jaina texts, both thieves and robbers are converted to the faith. The story of the converted thief or robber *Aṅgulimāla* is a Buddhist classic. About the name of the thief *Rāuhineya*, as well as his forefathers, Jaina texts have woven a cycle of conversion stories, one of which

has taken the form even of a *Ārama*, the *Prabuddha-Rāuhineyam*; see the author in A. J. P. XIII. 220 ff. We have touched upon the conversion stories of the two Bhillas *Dr̥dhaprahārin* and *Cilātīputra* above, pp. 217 ff. In *Mallinātha Caritra* 7. 945 ff. a noble Bhilla chief, *Āikharasena*, and his beautiful wife *Umatī* are both converted by a *Sādhu*. In *Āntinātha Caritra* 6. 1557 ff. there is a veritable *ic̣yl* of a Bhilla story: *Ātrumardara*, king of *Samketa*, is carried by a horse of inverted training<sup>24</sup> into a forest, where he falls into a faint from fatigue and thirst. On a neighboring mountain live *Pulindrakas* (*Pulindas*), who wear bark clothes and radish<sup>25</sup> necklaces. Happily they sleep upon the mountain top, drink pure water, wear clean clothes, and never hear an unkind word. One *Pulindra* sees the king lying on the ground, knows him for a king by his fine clothes, and muses that, in case of his death, the earth would be without a protector. He brings him water in a cornucopia of *palāça* leaves, and restores him. The king's men come up with delicious viands and drink. The king shares these with the *Pulindra*, and afterwards has him taken to his city, where he has him bathed, clothed and fed right royally. But the *Pulindra* cannot forget his forest, his freedom, and his wife. In the rainy season, when flashes lightning, thunder roars, and peacocks cry, he eludes by night the guards of the palace, doffs his splendid clothes, and returns naked to his native forest.

In *Pārgvanātha* 7. 748 ff.<sup>26</sup> a certain religious, *Mugdhaka* by name, comes for selfish purposes to do honor to an image of *Īiva*, inhabited by a *Vyantara*. The god does not react, so *Mugdhaka* makes another offering and stands in hiding, to see what will happen. A rough *Pulindra* (*Pulindraka*), with bow and arrow in his left hand, with flowers in his right, and his mouth full of water, comes there in a hurry, pushes aside with his foot the previous offering, squirts water out of his mouth, throws down a heap of flowers, and reverences the idol. Thereupon the pleased god starts to hold conversation with the *Pulin-*

<sup>24</sup> *Viparīta-turaṅga*; see my 'Life of *Pārgvanātha*,' pp. 204 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Kandamūla*, only in *Lexicon*

<sup>26</sup> See my 'Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior *Pārgvanātha*,' pp. 161 ff. This story is in a way the Hindu prototype of Seume's '*Kanadier der noch Europens übertünchte Lächerlichkeit nicht kannte*.'



dra. Mugdhaka exclaims angrily: 'Just as he is a Pulindra, so are you a Kaṭapūtana;<sup>27</sup> you converse with a low-born individual, but you do not show yourself to me even in a dream!' The god tells him to wait; he will show him the difference between himself and the Pulindra. Next day, when Mugdhaka comes there, he sees that the god is blind of one eye. Mugdhaka deplores this greatly, and hints that the god's association with low-born people (meaning the Pulindra) has got him into this evil plight. While he is thus condoling, the Pulindra comes along, takes in the situation, gouges out his own eye with an arrow, and hands it to the idol. The god offers Pulindra whatever he might desire, but he wants nothing, and goes as he came.

In Hemaviṇaya, Kathāratnākara, story 135, the Bhilla Bhīmala erects a statue of Droṇa, the great teacher of archery, and worships it with flowers, sandal and other gifts. Droṇa teaches him the art to such effect that he can shoot a dog's mouth full of arrows without injuring either his lips, palate, tongue or teeth.

In Daṣakumāracarita, in the second chapter of the Pūrvapīṭhikā, there is a curious story of a young Kirāta, descended from Brahmans, who live in the wild Vindhya forest, have abandoned the Vedas and the other Sciences, and, having turned their backs upon the customs of their race, sin against virtue, truth, and purity. This young Kirāta raids with the others of his tribe the villages of the surrounding country, kidnaps the rich men of these villages along with their wives and children, and holds them captive in the forest for ransom. But one day his companions are about to murder a Brahman, whereat the native good that is in him revolts. He fights with them until he dies from the wounds of their arrows. When he arrives at the court of Yama, Citragupta, hell's chancellor, knows both his vicious life and his redeeming virtue at the end. After proper hell-punishment he is allowed to return to his former body, and winds up his career as sovereign of subterranean Pātāla. Cf. the skit, Kathās. 72. 319 ff., in which the robber Sinhavikrama, afraid that he will go to hell at death, devotes himself to Citragupta, hell's chancellor, and by the latter's devices, obtains the right to perpetual residence in heaven.

<sup>27</sup> A kind of preta or ghost.

Benfey, Das Pañcatantra, II. 150 ff.,<sup>28</sup> has a story which shows a Bhilla chief, essentially cruel and rapacious, yet susceptible to human feelings. A prince and his two companions, a merchant and a scholar, go on an expedition to Mount Rohana, where each of them finds a priceless jewel. To safeguard these on their homeward journey they swallow them, but are observed in the act by a fourth person who joins them with the intention of cutting open their bellies and stealing the jewels. Before this scheme is carried out, they happen to pass a Bhilla village, whose chieftain hears one of his trained birds exclaim that the passing travelers are possessed of precious jewels. He searches them; finds nothing; the bird persists in his cry; and, finally, the chieftain decides to cut open their bellies. Then the prospective thief and murderer, who had joined the three with the intention of doing this same thing, reflects that if the prince and his companions will yield jewels from their bellies he himself will also certainly be cut open. He, therefore, begs the Bhilla to slit his belly first. The Bhilla does so, and when he finds nothing, he wails that his greed has led him, on the strength of the cry of a mere bird, to commit a grievous murder, and lets the others go.

On the summit of the Bhilla social scale, a powerful Bhilla potentate, Çaktirakṣita, is described, Kathās. 70. 19; 102. 29, as a student of the 'Sciences' (vidyās) who has been observing the vow of chastity from his youth up (what does he want with it)? This Çaktirakṣita is one of three Bhilla chieftains, the other two being Māyāvatu and Durgapiçāca, who are aiding King Mṛgāṅkadatta in obtaining his heart's desire, the Princess Çaçāṅkavatī. So honorable are they, that Mṛgāṅkadatta sits down to eat with them, notwithstanding their low caste (Kathās. 102. 115, 116). Cf. Fick, Die Sociale Gliederung, p. 27.

#### *Grateful Bhillas*

The theme closes with the subject of grateful Bhillas, and that, curiously, is the one treated most constantly and insistently. These brigands, of course, often find themselves in tight places. In Kathās. 9. 74 ff. a Çavara is accused unjustly of the theft of

<sup>28</sup> Cf. vol. I, pp. 287 ff. The story is repeated with some variations in Hemaviṣaya's Kathāratnākara, story 137; see Hertel, vol. II, pp. 77 ff.

a signet ring. Bhillas, like others, are grateful for benefits, personal, or political; and at times their admiration of their prospective victim's character impresses them to the pitch of generosity.

In the course of the elaborate story, Kathās. 101. 41 ff., Prince Sundarasena sets out to marry Mandāravatī, ornament of the world, and daughter of the king of Haṁsadvīpa. He suffers shipwreck, gets to shore, and reaches the hermitage of Mataṅga, where he finds his prospective bride has gone to meet him. They are taking passage on the ship of a merchant. Sundarasena places his beloved on board the ship, and is preparing to get on board himself, when the merchant, who has promptly become distracted with love for Mandāravatī, makes a sign to the steersman to start the ship, with the princess aboard, crying piteously.

Sundarasena sets out to recover his bride, loses his way and reaches a wilderness infested by Pulindas who are on the lookout for human sacrifice to Durgā, by the order of their king Vindhyaṅketu. He kills many, but finally is overcome and thrown into a foul prison, where he meets certain ministers of his who had shared his shipwreck. 'On the fourteenth day they are all taken to the temple of Durgā to be sacrificed. Sundarasena prays fervently to the goddess, and no sooner has he finished his appeal, when Vindhyaṅketu, the king of the Pulindas, arrives to worship the same goddess. Sundarasena recognizes him as a vassal who had often come to the court of his father Mahāsena and received benefits, but does not make himself known, because it is better for a man of honor to die than to make known who he is under such circumstances. But Vindhyaṅketu, in turn, recognizes him by his voice, and falls to the ground, crying, 'Alas! Alas!' The cause of his distress is, that he is fully conscious of the benefits he has received in the past from Sundarasena's father, yet has reduced his son to such a state. Sundarasena gets him to set all victims free. While this is going on, Vindhyaṅketu's commander-in-chief reports that he has captured a rich caravan and a very gem of a woman. Sundarasena rushes forward and finds his beloved Mandāravatī. The perfidious merchant is spared, but his goods are confiscated. To celebrate the reunion of the couple, Vindhyaṅketu makes a great feast at which all the Cābara women dance to show their joy.

In *Pāṛgvanātha Caritra* 8.65 ff., the merchant *Bandhudatta*, having married *Priyadarṣanā*, starts home with his wife, in a pregnant condition. His caravan, camping by a lake, is attacked by *Bhillas*, belonging to a village chieftain, *Caṇḍasena*. They bring the loot with *Priyadarṣanā* to *Caṇḍasena*. He questions *Priyadarṣanā*, and learns from her that she is the daughter of a merchant *Jinadatta*. Astonished at this revelation, he bows before her, and tells her that she is his sister, because she is the daughter of *Jinadatta*, who had once saved him from being executed as a thief. She bids him find *Bandhudatta*, from whom she has been separated in the *mêlée* of the attack. *Caṇḍasena* goes in search, but does not find him, whereupon he takes oath that he will enter the fire in case her husband is not restored to her within six months. He then sends out all his *Bhillas*, but, even so, they do not find *Bandhu*. In great worry, *Caṇḍasena* concludes that *Bandhu*, in despair, has made away with himself. He decides to take *Priyadarṣanā* back to her home in *Kauṣāmbī*, after she has brought forth her child; afterwards he will enter the fire. While in this state of mind, a handmaiden announces that *Priyadarṣanā* has borne a son. *Caṇḍasena* vows to his house divinity, named *Caṇḍasenā* (also called *Caṇḍā* = *Durgā*) that he will offer up ten men to her, in case *Priyadarṣanā* and her son remain in good health. After twenty-five days have passed peacefully, he sends out his *Bhillas* to capture ten men fit for sacrifice.

In the meantime *Bandhudatta* roams despairingly in the *Hintāla* forest. Unable longer to endure separation from *Priyadarṣanā*, he is about to hang himself, when he notes the reunion of a separated couple of *hansa* birds,<sup>20</sup> gathers hope from the sight, and decides to return to his own city. After many stirring adventures he falls into the hands of the *Bhillas* whom *Caṇḍasena* has sent out to get victims for *Durgā*. He is joined to others who have been caught for the same purpose, and is kept in the temple of the goddess. The chieftain *Caṇḍasena* comes to the sacrifice, along with *Priyadarṣanā* and her boy. Considering that she will not be able to endure the sight of the horrible rite, he covers up her eyes with a garment. It happens that *Bandhudatta* is first led to slaughter. As he pronounces

<sup>20</sup> A frequent motif; e. g. *Malinātha* 2.343 ff.

the parameṣṭhinamaskāra,<sup>30</sup> his wife recognizes his voice, and uncovers her eyes. The chieftain releases him, and asks his pardon. Bandhudatta begs off the other victims, the goddess hereafter being (Jinistically) content with praise, flowers, and other harmless gifts.

The same motifs are worked up in an interesting story related to the preceding, Samarādityasaṃkṣepa 6. 36 ff. A young merchant Dharāṇa, out on an expedition to gain wealth, happens to perform a service for a Vidyādhara, named Hemakuṇḍala, in return for which the Vidyādhara presents him with a curative ring. Dharāṇa, in the course of his journey, camps on the bank of a mountain stream, and notices some Kīrātas crying. They tell him that their lord, Kālasena, has been injured in a fight with a lion, and, therefore, intends to enter the fire. His wife is with him in his distress, but they have gone to inform his father. Therefore they are crying like children. Dharāṇa asks to be shown the wounded man, cures him by means of his ring, and Kālasena is profoundly grateful. Dharāṇa, after many adventures returns home, after having acquired great wealth. As he travels through the Kādambarī forest his caravan is attacked at night by Čavaras. They plunder his wares, take his men captive, and report the event to their chieftain, Kālasena. He recognizes among the captives a retainer of Dharāṇa, named Saṃgama, learns from him that the broken caravan belongs to his healer, Dharāṇa, and sends his men to look for him. Because they do not succeed, Kālasena faints from grief, and, when revived, bewails his ingratitude, vowing that he will enter the fire, if he does not find him within five days. He also vows a bali offering of ten men to his house divinity Čaṇḍikā, in case he finds Dharāṇa. In due time Kālasena's men come across Dharāṇa, and hold him as one of the men to be sacrificed. He is brought with others to Čaṇḍikā's temple. Kālasena prays, and tells Kuraṅga, a retainer, to bring on a man for the sacrifice. Kālasena tells this man to utter his last wish, but, as the man, in fright, is unable to speak, Kālasena fears that his wishes in connection with the sacrifice will remain unfulfilled. Then Dharāṇa offers himself as the first sacrifice. Kālasena recognizes this unselfish conduct as similar to Dharāṇa's previous

<sup>30</sup> The fivefold obeisance to the Jaina Saviors etc.

goodness, goes to inspect him, recognizes him, falls at his feet, and asks his pardon. Dharana instructs him to worship in future with hymns of praise and flowers, to which Kālasena consents.

Quite similarly, *Çāntinātha Caritra* 4. 155 ff., the merchant Dhanadatta is in possession of a charm which cures obsession by demons (*bhūtagrahāpahī*). He cures with it *Siñhavarī*, the beloved wife of the Bhilla chieftain *Siñhacaṇḍa*, ruler of the village *Girikuruṅgikā*, and is, in due time, rewarded for his service.

Once more, with related traits, *Samarādityasaṁkṣepa* 7. 357 ff., Prince Sena, forced out of his kingdom by a hating cousin, *Viṣena*, joins with his wife, *Çāntimatī*, the caravan of a merchant *Sānudeva*, on his way from *Rājapura* to *Tāmalipṭī*. They pass through the forest of *Tantaraktikā*, where they are unexpectedly attacked by *Bhillas*. The goods of the caravan are carried off, but Sena rushes into the fight, downs the Bhilla chieftain, and spares his life. Out of gratitude he restores the property of the caravan, and presents Sena with a belt. The caravan cook comes on the scene, and reports that *Çāntimatī* is lost. Sena faints; when he comes to, the chief promises that he will send his men in search.

*Çāntimatī*, desperate on account of her separation, hangs herself upon a tree, but the noose breaks, and she is rescued by a novice sage, who takes her to his hermitage. He presents her to his abbot, who professes reunion with her husband, and puts her in charge of some nuns. In the meantime they who had gone in search of *Çāntimatī* return sadly without finding her. Other *Çabaras* report an impending attack by *Samaraketu*, king of *Vigrapura*. Both Sena and the chief go out to fight, but are captured and brought before *Samaraketu*, who condemns the chief to death, but temporarily spares Sena, because he recognizes him to be a prince. Sena begs to be executed first, the king asks him who he is, and just as he is about to tell, the merchant *Sānudeva* arrives, and explains how Sena came to be with the *Çabaras*. The king orders that care be taken of both Sena and the chief. He also sends men in search of *Çāntimatī*, and, when they return unsuccessfully, one *Somasūra* tells that he knows a holy bathing place (*tīrtha*), *Priyamelaka* ('Love Tryst'), which secures the reunion of parted lovers.

The Bhilla conducts him there. It is the location of the hermitage, and the couple are reunited to further adventure and happiness.

Kathās. 13. 1 ff., Udayana, king of Vatsa, is held in light captivity by King Caṇḍamahāsena, who, however, desires to bestow upon Udayana his daughter Vāsavadattā, and has no objection to Udayana's escape. Udayana's wily minister Yāgamdhārāyaṇa, advises his master to revenge himself upon Caṇḍamahāsena by eloping with Vāsavadattā. With a few followers Udayana and Vāsavadattā penetrate the Vindhya forest in order to place themselves under the protection of Udayana's ally Pulindaka, king of the Pulindas. As Udayana journeys along slowly with his beloved, he is surrounded by brigands who spring out from an ambuscade. The King, with only his bow to help him, slays one hundred and five of them before the eyes of Vāsavadattā. Pulindaka comes up and orders the surviving brigands to desist, and after prostrating himself before Udayana, conducts him with his beloved to his own village. While in the safety of his keep a warder brings King Caṇḍamahāsena's consent to the marriage; a high wedding festival takes place, and Pulindaka is rewarded with a turban of honor and other distinctions. This Bhilla chieftain figures otherwise as Udayana's permanent and trusty ally; see Kathās. 12. 45; 19. 58; cf. also 30. 54. A Bhilla ally figures also frequently in the Jain refacemento of the Udayana story, the *Mṛgavatī Caritra*; see Eertel, 'Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla, pp. 106, 115, 116.

Kathās. 102. 15 ff., Prince Mṛgāṅkadatta is in love with Ṣaṇḍāṅkavatī, daughter of the mighty King Karmasena of Ujjayinī. He arrives at the gates of that city and finds it guarded by a mighty host, which he cannot hope to conquer. His minister, the Brahman Cūṭadhi, advises him to join with Māyāvaṭu, king of the Pulindas, whom Mṛgāṅkadatta has once rescued from the attack of three water sprites, and who had promised him assistance in his search for Ṣaṇḍāṅkavatī (ibid. 71. 1 ff.). Two other Kirāta or Mātaṅga kings, Ṣaktirakṣita<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> This Ṣaktirakṣita is described (above, p. 225) as a student of the sciences, observing a vow of chastity, and as Mṛgāṅkadatta's friend from childhood, owing to political favors shown to Ṣaktirakṣita by Mṛgāṅkadatta's father.

and Durgapiçāca, stand ready to aid Mṛgāṅkadatta. The latter accepts his minister's advice and proceeds to Karabhagrīva, the stronghold of Durgapiçāca, which is crowded with Bhilla villages. He beholds everywhere crowds of Çavaras, adorned with peacock feathers and elephants' teeth, clothed in tigers' skins, and living on the flesh of deer. With the entrance of Durgapiçāca goes a description of him that reads like the Hindu beau ideal of a wild robber chieftain, the author assuring us that it justifies his name of Durgapiçāca 'Dreadful Devil': He is like a second Vindhya range, for his body is firm as a rocky peak, his hue black as tamāla, and Pulindas lie at his feet. His face is terrible with a natural three-furrowed frown, as if the goddess Durgā had marked him with her trident as her own. This description contrasts itself, of itself, with the readiness, redolent of humble gratitude and reverence, with which these wild chiefs enter into Mṛgāṅkadatta's plans and interests. After a tremendous, but indecisive battle between Karmasena and Mṛgāṅkadatta's combined forces, the latter carries off Çaçāṅkavatī, conveys her to the palace of Māyāvaṭu, and marries that princess who has, on the strength of reports of Mṛgāṅkadatta's more than divine beauty, previously bestowed her heart on him.

Kathās. 22. 16 ff., there is a very romantic story of reciprocal affection of a merchant and a robber chief, introducing many traits of this sphere of fiction: A merchant, Vasudatta, is attacked by robbers in the forest, robbed of his goods, and taken in chains to a temple of Durgā (Bhavānī), terrible with a long waving banner of red silk, like the tongue of Death, eager to devour the lives of animals. He is brought before their chief, Pulindaka, as a victim in honor of the goddess. But, though a Çavara, the chief feels his heart melt with pity for the merchant, sure sign of prenatal friendship. Vasudatta returns home. In course of time he sees there that same Çavara chief, whom the king has ordered to be brought before him as a prisoner for plundering a caravan. Vasudatta ransoms him from death by payment of a lac of gold pieces, and shows him every loving attention. The chief returns to the forest to hunt elephants, from the pearls in whose heads he intends to prepare a surpassingly beautiful necklace for Vasudatta. But, better yet, a beautiful lady comes along, riding on a lion, whom the Çavara chief regards as a fit mate for Vasudatta. He brings the two together.



The girl turns out to be a Vidyādhara maiden; the lion is her father, who has been, for a trifling offence, cursed into that shape, until his daughter shall marry. The Çavara generally, thereafter, lives in Vasudatta's house, 'finding that he took less pleasure in dwelling in his own country than he formerly did.'

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## CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH BRUTUS AND CALVUS ON ORATORICAL STYLE.

Our knowledge of this correspondence is derived most directly and specifically from a well-known passage of the *Dialogus* of Tacitus. Since it is my aim to put together in convenient summary all the essential evidence bearing on the matter, I reproduce the text here, though familiar and easily accessible.

Satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus, sed super modum exultans et superfluens et parum antiquus videretur. Legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas, ex quibus facile est deprehendere Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et aridum, Brutum autem otiosum atque diiunctum; rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut ipsius verbis utar, tamquam fractum atque elumbem (ch. 18).

To this may be added, apart from allusions to the letters themselves, two specific references in Quintilian, and one other of more general character.

Transeo illos qui Ciceroni ac Demostheni ne in eloquentia quidem satis tribuunt: quamquam neque ipsi Ciceroni Demosthenes videatur satis esse perfectus, quem dormire interim dicit, nec Cicero Bruto Calvoque, qui certe compositionem illius etiam apud ipsum reprehendunt, nec Asinio utrique, qui vitia orationis eius etiam inimice pluribus locis insequuntur (12, 1, 22). De compositione non equidem post M. Tullium scribere auderem . . . nisi eiusdem aetatis homines scriptis ad ipsum etiam litteris reprehendere id collocandi genus ausi fuissent (9, 4, 1).

The third passage deals with the obtrectatores Ciceronis in general. From it I excerpt a portion which reflects some of the same criticisms implied in the words cited from Brutus and Calvus.

At M. Tullium . . . habemus . . . in omnibus quae in quoque laudantur eminentissimum: quem tamen et

suorum homines temporum incessere audebant ut tumidiorem et Asianum et redundantem et in repetitionibus nimium et in salibus aliquando frigidum et in compositione fractum,<sup>1</sup> exultantem ac pæne—quod procul sit—viro molliorem . . . praecipue vero presserunt eum qui videri Atticorum imitatores concupierant. haec manus quasi quibusdam sacris initiata ut alienigenam et parum superstitiosum devinctumque illis legibus insequeretur, unde nunc quoque aridi et exsuci et exsanguis (12, 10, 12 and 14).

These references to the correspondence, of about the same date, and especially the words of Tacitus, suggest a specific collection of the letters of Cicero and his contemporaries dealing with the mooted questions of rhetoric and oratorical style, and it has been conjectured<sup>2</sup> not without plausibility that the anti-quarian Mucianus, whom Tacitus elsewhere (ch. 37) alludes to, had brought together the letters in question (or some of them) from scattered sources and had incorporated them in his *Tres Libri Epistularum*. A precise survey of the references to these letters will be found in the careful study of Harnecker entitled "Cicero und die Attiker,"<sup>3</sup> the results of which are incorporated in the more recent manuals of literary history. To the more precise definition of the nature and origin of this correspondence, to the interpretation of the fragments themselves, and to indications of traces which it has left on extant writings, some additions can I think be made not without interest for the literary history of the time, and significant especially for the origins of the *Orator*.

But in spite of the solid ground of specific evidence upon which our knowledge of these letters rests, the Tacitean report at all events has encountered curious scepticism. Harnecker reports the older doubts of Bähr and Teuffel, and since the publication of his study at least two scholars have again found occasion to call into question its credibility. Wölfflin,<sup>4</sup> ap-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Quintil. 9, 4, 53 at Cicero . . . reprehenditur a quibusdam tamquam orationem ad rhythmos adliget.

<sup>2</sup> By Gudeman ad loc. and Proleg. p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Neue Jahrbücher 125 (1882), p. 601 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Archiv 13 (1903), p. 438.

proaching the matter incidentally as a lexicographer, and arguing boldly from the word *enervem*, declares that if this word occurred in the letters attributed to Calvus they were certainly spurious, since *enervis* is definitely a post-Ciceronian and post-Augustan word. He calls attention to the prevalence of literary forgery in the rhetorical schools, and would assign the correspondence to a period between Tiberius and Tacitus. More recently Gudeman,<sup>6</sup> without reference to Wölfflin's argument, and from a wholly different point of view reaches the same conclusion. The epithets—especially *elumbem enervem*—he considers to be abusive and at variance with the urbanity of tone which marks Cicero's allusions in his letters and in the *Brutus* and *Orator* to both of his opponents. But both of these opinions are unsound and based upon trivial considerations. They have won no support so far as I know, and are per se scarcely deserving the pains of refutation.

In an earlier study of the *De Analogia* of Julius Caesar I was at pains to point out that Roman Atticism was no abrupt or sudden development, though the name itself, *Attici*, genus *Atticum*, etc., seems only to have come into vogue about the middle of the first century B. C., and among Romans at all events was apparently first employed by Calvus in application to himself, through whom it gained currency as the designation of a larger miscellaneous group. The origins of the movement, however, which thus received a more precise definition and name, go back in Roman studies to the time of Terence and the Scipionic circle, and are in some degree a manifestation of the time-worn quarrel between rhetoric and philosophy, or rhetoric and grammar, regarding grammar as an offshoot of philosophy.

Atticism in its origins was less a matter of style than of diction. It was purism, a refinement of the earlier cult of Hellenism (*Ἑλληνισμός*), and so exactly parallel to Latinitas. Had it not been for the wide diffusion of Greek in the Eastern world and the development of new literary and oratorical ideals in Asia Minor, Egypt and elsewhere, there would perhaps never have arisen occasion to specialize *Ἑλληνισμός* into *Ἀττικισμός*. The fact that Rome was from the beginning and remained the

<sup>6</sup> *Dialogus* (ed. 2), ad loc. p. 317.

source and norm of Latinitas without rivals, made superfluous the recognition of a 'Romanitas' corresponding to Ἀττικισμός. However in certain aspects of Roman Atticism, urbanitas, which is its nearest equivalent, plays a similar rôle. This cult of purism, of faultless Latinity, was intimately associated with the theoretical study of grammar, and thrived at Rome under the rivalries of analogists and anomalists. Concerning Caesar the matter is perfectly clear from his treatise *De Analogia*, and from the characterization which Cicero bestows on him in *Brutus* 252: ut esset perfecta illa bene loquendi laus multis litteris (i. e. γραμματικῇ) et eis quidem reconditis est consecutus. Concerning Calvus we have testimony of the same sort, also from Cicero (*Fam.* 15, 21, 7): multae erant et reconditae litterae, vis non erat—a judgment which, as in the case of Caesar, seems to refer to his proficiency in grammatical studies: 'a fine scholar, but an inadequate orator.' The whole record of his style as afforded by Cicero, Tacitus, and Quintilian points to the same painstaking and exaggerated striving for purity and exactness which characterized the studies and the style of Caesar. For the details of such interpretation I would refer to my former study (in *Classical Philology*, vol. I, 1906).

While Atticism and its Roman correlative Latinitas were primarily questions of diction<sup>6</sup> and not of style, yet because the essence of Latinity lay in propriety (*verba propria*) the devotees of this worship found themselves constantly at variance with the redundant emotional language of oratory,<sup>7</sup> as represented by its most distinguished contemporary exponents. Other elements as well may have entered into play: not to mention political differences which were not without their influence on literary principles, there was the traditional hostility of philosophy to rhetoric, an hostility which, united with old Roman gravitas, was represented by such men as Cato and Brutus. From various sources therefore and for different reasons we find Brutus and Calvus, and a considerable group of other orators and public men at Rome (Caesar, Calpidius, Cornificius, and a little later

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the article of Suidas, *Κακίλιος*, and the works there enumerated (*ἐκλογὴ λέξεων*), and Wilamowitz's comment, *Hermes* (1900), p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> On redundancy and periphrasis as a characteristic of later non-Attic Greek cf. Wilamowitz, l. c., p. 4.

Messalla and Asinius) united in opposition to the ideals and style of oratory which Hortensius and Cicero had brought to a kind of classical perfection. To dub them all specifically Atticists is hazardous and without evidence, but it is probably true that Atticism furnished a rallying point of opposition and a creed of propriety and restraint to which others than its strict professors could subscribe. With regard to Brutus in particular it is a reasonably certain conclusion from the tone of several passages of the *Orator*, as well as from the comment on Calvus which Cicero puts into his mouth in the *Brutus* (284), that he did not call himself an Atticist. His nature was, we may believe, too blunt and independent to associate itself with a 'movement,' and the linguistic, dictional pedantry of the school set up an ideal which he may well have recognized as merely another form of modish rhetoric. His own principles of style he would have justified on deeper grounds.

To fix a date for the beginning of the correspondence is obviously impossible. The single allusion in the extant letters of Cicero dates from the latter part of the year 47, soon after the death of Calvus. But in general the publication, toward the end of the year 46 of the *Orator*, (which may be looked upon as a product for the public of the debate which had been conducted within narrower circles) fixes a lower limit. On the other side the *De Oratore*, which was circulated early in 54, may be looked upon as marking the upper limit. The *De Oratore* was in fact the work which precipitated and brought to book the whole problem in debate between Cicero and his opponents. This is not to say that the subject had not been before a matter of more or less public discussion. We can see in fact from the criticisms which Cicero incorporated in a forensic reply to Calpurnius (of the year 64 or 63) that differences of oratorical ideal were matters of warm debate, and we have only to go back to the *Memoirs* of Rutilius Rufus to discern that even so serious and pragmatic a character as this stern Roman Stoic considered questions of this sort worthy of precise attention and criticism. Throughout we must remember that men of affairs and philosophic mind, not only then but before and after, found an interest in and attached an importance to theoretical discussions of style, rhetoric, and grammar which seem to us curiously scholastic. We can understand better the new en-

thusiasm of the day for the neoteric poetry; it is harder to realize that rhetoric and grammar once revealed a face as bright. But with the publication of the *De Oratore* Cicero, setting forth his own ideal and practice, offered a target to which were drawn the shafts of opposing opinion. From this time on until the *Orator* at the end of the year 46 there are traces of this literary debate. In an earlier study I endeavored to show that the *De Analogia* of Julius Caesar was elicited by the *De Oratore*. Though technical in title the work was of a somewhat more general character, as Cicero's allusion to it with the words *de ratione dicendi* shows, and we can still discern that besides matter of a more specific grammatical nature it defended a style of simplicity and naturalness contrasting with the grand manner of Cicero and Hortensius.

The starting-point of Caesar's dissent seems to have been a passage of the third book (52) depreciatory of the significance of plain correct Latin speech (*Latine loqui*), with contrasting exaltation of oratorical embellishment and elaboration. In Caesar's case the reaction seems to have been prompt, and I advanced reason for believing that his reply belongs to the Spring of 54.

#### BRUTUS

The same passage of the *De Oratore* may also have been the source of a dissenting criticism on the part of Brutus, though one must hesitate to place the epistolary interchange between Brutus and Cicero at so early a date. The passage of Cicero is as follows:

Faciles . . . partes eae fuerunt duae . . . Latine loquendi planeque dicendi; reliquae sunt magnae, implicatae, variae, graves, quibus omnis admiratio ingeni, omnis laus eloquentiae continetur. nemo enim umquam est oratorem quod Latine loqueretur admiratus; si est aliter irrident . . . In quo igitur homines exhorrescunt? quem stupefacti dicentem intuentur? in quo exclamant? quem deum, ut ita dicam, putant? Qui distincte, qui explicate, qui abundanter, qui illuminate et rebus et verbis dicunt et in ipsa oratione quasi quendam numerum versumque conficiunt, id est quod dico ornatè (3, 52-53 and context from 48).

This is true oratory as Cicero conceives of it, and the antithesis to the oratory of plain speaking is already sharply drawn. The significant words here are *admiratio*, *admiratus*, with their extravagant amplification in *exhorrescunt*, *stupefacti*, etc. There are to be sure many other places in Cicero where *admirari* is used for the effect of the oratory at which he aims, but there is none in which the contrast to the creed of Brutus is drawn with sharper lines. It is from this point of view that we must judge an epistolary fragment of Cicero to Brutus which Quintilian preserves (8, 3, 6):

Recteque Cicero his ipsis ad Brutum verbis quadam in  
epistula scribit: nam eloquentiam quae admirationem  
non habet nullam iudico,

and we can scarcely doubt that it reflects a debate between the two men, in which Brutus deprecated the ideal of Cicero, true to his nature and his philosophy—*nil admirari*.

Brutus though professedly an Academic of the reformed school of Antiochus—rehabilitator of the old Academy—was essentially Stoic in his character and in his philosophical point of view. Indeed Antiochus himself is accounted by Cicero a true Stoic (*germanissimus Stoicus*) masking in the disguise of the Academic name. The natural disposition of Brutus, reinforced by such instruction and by the example and precept of his uncle, would yield readily in practice a style of oratory very different from Cicero's, and inevitably an attitude of mind antipathetic to the theory which Cicero advanced. The oratory of Brutus has been discussed carefully and with thorough survey of the relevant evidence by Filbey in an excellent study,<sup>8</sup> and his conclusions show clearly not only the contrast between the practice and the ideals of the two men, but also most significantly the misrepresentation of the position of Brutus, as assigned to him in the dialogue which bears his name. The intimacy of Brutus and Cicero dates from a later time than the *De Oratore*. It is not wholly free from the suspicion of a certain disingenuousness on both sides: of cultivating one the other for ulterior purposes in the confused political situation of the time. What their relation may have been when the *De Oratore*

<sup>8</sup> In *Class. Phil.* 6 (1911), p. 325.



threw the theoretical question of oratorical style into the arena of public debate it is impossible to say.

In the year 51 Cicero spoke in behalf of Milo. The words actually spoken in the Forum were weak and halting: Milo was condemned and the case was for Cicero a rout. The written (and extant) speech, which professed to give to the public what had there been said was on the contrary, and is, accounted a masterpiece of the then prevailing type of oratory. It is known from the anonymous scholia and from Asconius that Brutus wrote a speech on the same theme, though whether it preceded the published oration of Cicero or not we are ignorant. Quintilian says it was written *exercitationis gratia*, merely as a rhetorical exercise; but it seems much more likely that it was rather a political pamphlet (which, like the Isocratean deliberations, assumed fictitiously a specific occasion for utterance), to give expression to the author's point of view on a burning question of the day. It is characteristic of the rather histrionic reputation of Brutus for 'virtue' that the position taken by him in defence of Milo was a moral rather than a legal one (*interfici Clodium pro re publica fuisse*). This position, Asconius tells us in his introduction, Cicero was obliged to reject: *quasi qui bono publico damnari, idem etiam occidi indemnatus posset*, and connoisseurs justly praise his legal sense in so doing, and in assigning so cogent a reason. The remark of the ancient commentator suggests that the matter was a subject of debate in which Cicero at least participated, though whether before or after the occasion must remain uncertain. The stylistic character of the fictitious defence of Brutus is not known, but one may suspect that Cicero has it in mind when at a later time, in the treatise *De optimo genere oratorum*, he contrasts the tremendous situation which the defence of Milo presented, with the languid arguing of some petty private suit before a single judge. Whether his assumption that he had himself lived up to its magnitude is naive or disingenuous, belongs in a chapter on Ciceronian vanity. He could perhaps believe that the stenographic report of the spoken speech would be little known. Cicero is as usual hitting at the Atticists, who have only one manner of speech,<sup>9</sup> the restrained elegance of Lysias:

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Orator 110 tu autem (Brute) eodem modo omnis causas ages?

Ita fit ut Demosthenes certe possit summis dicere, elate Lysias fortasse non possit. Sed si eodem modo putant exercitu in foro et in omnibus templis quae circum forum sunt conlocato dici pro Milone decuisse, ut si de re privata ad unum iudicem diceremus, vim eloquentiae sua facultate, non rei natura metiuntur (10).

It is stated by some writers, for example by Forsyth (*Life of Cicero*), that Brutus showed his performance to Cicero (presumably before the defence), but this is apparently an inference from the words of Asconius referred to above. There is however no reason to derive from them evidence of any personal contact at this time.

Another fragment of correspondence is reported by Quintilian, which affirms the Stoic doctrine that eloquence is one of the virtues:

cur non . . . recte hoc apud Ciceronem dixerit Crassus: 'est enim eloquentia una quaedam de summis virtutibus,' et ipse Cicero a sua persona cum ad Brutum in epistulis tum aliis etiam locis virtutem eam appellet? (2, 30, 9).

It is idle to speculate on the circumstances of such an utterance but it may be pointed out that Cicero in *De Oratore* 3, 55 uses this dictum in a manner which no Stoic, or indeed other serious philosopher, could have countenanced. In the same work 1, 83 (in the mouth of Antonius) it appears as it was in fact a thorny subtlety of Stoic arrogance.

If we refer again to the general characterizations of this correspondence from which we started, we observe that the allusions in Quintilian indicate that the strictures of Brutus and Calvus upon Cicero's oratory had chiefly to do with 'composition' that is *σύνθεσις* (compositionem illius reprehendunt). Quintilian indeed expressly distinguishes this criticism from the more general attacks of the Asinii (father and son), attacks which apparently looked rather to faults of diction (vitia orationis). In the report of Tacitus the same thing may be discerned. For

. . . aut in isdem causis perpetuum et eundem spiritum sine ulla commutatione obtinebis?

while Cicero's epithets for Calvus and Brutus (*exsanguem attritum, otiosum diiunctum*) are of a more general characterizing nature, yet those applied by them to Cicero (*solutum enervem, fractum elumbem*) belong quite clearly in the category of composition. This is not of course to say that Brutus and Calvus were not critical of the oratory of Cicero in other respects. We can see from the *Brutus* and the *Orator*, as well as from the fragments already cited, that the discussion took in the whole range of oratorical style and point of view. It means however that the correspondence which had been collected and was available to Tacitus and Quintilian touched chiefly upon questions of this sort—the use of rhythmical clausulae, and *oratio numerosa* in general. From Brutus' general character of blunt directness as well as from the traditions of his training we should guess beforehand that he would look upon the rhythmical elaboration of prose as artificial and affected. It would seem in fact that in his desire to avoid the prevailing vice of cadenced prose he gave the impression of seeking harshness of 'composition,' 'cultivating the brevity of the apophthegm and the Spartan,' as Plutarch says. Quintilian cites as an instance of a faulty close a sentence of Brutus from one of his letters ending in the cadence of the hexameter—*placuisse Catoni*. 'Iambic rhythms as being closer to ordinary speech are less noticeable (and therefore less to be censured). Verses of this sort slip from us unawares, as often in Brutus in spite of his very eagerness to attain severity of composition' (*quos Brutus ipso componendi durius studio saepissime facit*—9, 4, 76).

The position of Brutus is therefore clear. It remains to note two fragments from letters, in which we can still catch a glimpse of the original debate which, from Cicero's side, is summed up for us in the second part of the *Orator*. The material is meagre, but it suffices to afford one well-defined illustration of the controversy from the side of Brutus. In 6, 3, 20, merely for the sake of illustrating the meaning of the word *facetis*, Quintilian cites an example with rather perplexing formula of introduction:

Facetum quoque non tantum circa ridicula opinor consistere: . . . decoris hanc magis et excultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem puto. ideoque in epistulis Cicero haec Bruti refert verba: ne illi sunt pedes faceti ac deliciis ingrediendi molles.

'In sooth these (that follow) are feet dainty and with their mincing step (deliciis ingrediendi) soft (and effeminate).' This is undoubtedly the meaning of the words, and it would seem superfluous to add that the feet in question are metrical, if it were not that translators have been misled into amusing absurdities.<sup>10</sup> Too bad that the examples do not follow. One might infer that others less censurable had preceded. But the ironical praise in terms which could scarcely flatter the vanity of Cicero reveals a bantering criticism which does not lack edge. How these words of Brutus should appear in a letter of Cicero is of course not clear, nor can we say with certainty (though it seems to me most probable) that the letter in question was addressed to Brutus. But in any case they were certainly quoted by him for refutation of the strictures. How he did so may be gathered from a comparison with 9, 4, 63, a passage marred by serious difficulties of text, though enough is clear for our purposes. The context is as follows: Quintilian emphasizes the observance of rhythmical cadences especially in the clausulae. Next in importance is the beginning of the sentence, since a bad beginning will ruin the best of clausulae. There follows then either a lacuna of words, or a bold lacuna of thought: (But even the best of clausulae may not escape criticism),

namque fit ut, cum Demosthenis severa videatur compositio τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, et illa, quae ab uno quod sciam Bruto minus probatur, ceteris placet, καὶν μίπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ, Ciceronem carpant in his, *familiaris coeperat esse balneatori*, et non minus dure (sc. carpant), *archipiratae*. nam *balneatori* et *archipiratae* idem finis est qui πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις et qui μηδὲ τοξεύῃ, sed priora (sc. illa Demosthenis) sunt severiora. est in eo quoque (sc. the criticism of the Ciceronian examples) nonnihil, quod hic (i. e. in the Ciceronian

<sup>10</sup> The editors for the most part since Burman read delicatius ingrediendi, which has lead translators to suspect that we have here some erotic fragment in praise of a lady. Even Butler (Loeb edition 1921) who had available Radermacher's text has not escaped the pitfall. He renders, very much as Watson did before him, "in truth her feet are graceful and soft as she goes delicately on her way." Still more tender is the version in the Collection Nisard: "j'aime son joli pied, sa démarche gracieuse!" On *ne ελεωνικῶς*, cf. Charisius, GL., p. 228, v. 16.

clausula or finis) singulis verbis bini pedes continentur, quod etiam in carminibus est praemolle (as for example *Tyndaridarum*, *Appennino*, *armamentis*, *Oreione*). quare hoc quoque vitandum est ne plurium syllabarum verbis utamur in fine (9, 4, 63).<sup>11</sup>

The argument as it lay between Brutus and Cicero can I think be reconstructed with reasonable certainty. Cicero's favorite clausulae of cretic and spondee Brutus has criticized as soft and weak. Cicero has replied by appealing to the classical example of Demosthenes, whose rhythm he holds was universally accounted severe. Brutus does not allow the appeal, and embraces Demosthenes' *μηδὲ τοξέῳ* in the same condemnation. But even allowing the example of Demosthenes, his clausula at least was distributed over two words, while Cicero has allowed himself examples embraced in a single word like *balneatori*, *archipiratae*. Such combinations, as Quintilian (or possibly Brutus) points out, were marks of an over-refined composition even in verse; how much more so in prose. To feet such as these we may suspect that Brutus applied his ironical praise—pedes faceti et deliciis ingrediendi molles.

#### CALVUS

For the correspondence between Calvus and Cicero our information is in reality more meagre than in the case of Brutus. Actual fragments or allusions such as Quintilian yields for the correspondence of Cicero and Brutus are reduced to a single example. In compensation however we have report of a letter from Cicero to Calvus which reflects one side of the correspondence with some clearness. The letter has been discussed by Harnecker, and though I have little to add, yet for completeness of record a brief account of it is here set down.

<sup>11</sup> In the text here presented, apart from the transitional thought which I have indicated as a lacuna of words or of thought, I read *namque fit* on the evidence of Rufinus (cited by Halm) for *nam quo fit*, and *non minus dura* I have changed to *dure*, since it is obvious from what follows that *archipiratae* was not criticized as harsh, but as too soft (*praemollis*). The harshness lay in the criticism, like that which Quintilian reports—ac paene, quod procul absit, viro molliorem (12, 10, 12).

In the latter part of the year 47 Cicero acknowledged a letter from Trebonius which accompanied a collection of Ciceronian *Dicta* compiled and placed in their original setting by Trebonius. The letter was however more than a polite note of transmission, and its essential content may be gathered from Cicero's reply, the extant letter to Trebonius (15, 21). After reference to Trebonius' departure for Spain, which was imminent when he wrote, and acknowledgment of the devotion shown in the collection of the Ciceronian witticisms, Cicero replies to the main subject-matter of Trebonius' letter:

Nunc ad epistolam venio, cui copiose et suaviter scriptae nihil est quod multa respondeam: primum enim ego illas Calvo litteras misi non plus quam has quas nunc legis existimans exituras; aliter enim scribimus quod eos solos quibus mittimus, aliter quod multos lecturos putamus. Deinde ingenium eius maioribus extuli laudibus quam tu id vere potuisse fieri putas: primum quod ita iudicabam: acute movebatur, genus quoddam sequebatur in quo, iudicio lapsus quo valebat, tamen adsequebatur quod probarat: multae erant et reconditae litterae: vis non erat: ad eam igitur adhortabar. In excitando autem et in acuendo plurimum valet si laudes eum quem cohortere. Habes de Calvo iudicium et consilium meum: consilium, quod hortandi causa laudavi; iudicium, quod de ingenio eius valde existimavi bene.

From this it is clear that the letter of Trebonius discussed with some fulness (copiosè) the position which Cicero had taken in the letter to Calvus, which now for the first time had come to the attention of Trebonius. The latter had expressed surprise at an apparent change of front on the part of Cicero toward Calvus. Merely as an hypothesis in the interest of visualization, we may suppose that Trebonius had participated on the Ciceronian side in the debate with Calvus and his followers, and now seemed to find himself left in the lurch by the *volte-face* of his chief. Cicero excuses his apparent change of front by averring that he never supposed his letter to Calvus would see the light of publicity, and that his praise was in reality a sugaring of

exhortation to a change of style: nevertheless he protests the sincerity of the judgment expressed.

It must seem probable that the letter of Cicero to Calvus was in tone at least quite at variance with Cicero's previous utterances, and not only in the circle of his intimates like Trebonius, but also in earlier correspondence with Calvus himself. We are in no position to give an explanation of this change, and we can only speculate whether the declining health of the still young orator, or some shift in the political relations of the time may have lead Cicero to express himself in a more laudatory and conciliatory way than had been his wont. How, too, the letter became public is an unanswerable question, though the death of Calvus may afford a plausible explanation. That is, that the friends of Calvus made it known, using the praise of Cicero as one means among others for commemorating the career now cut off, which had been so brilliant in promise and in achievement. This conjecture may gain in plausibility from the fact that Trebonius at the time of writing (autumn of 47) has only now become acquainted with the letter of Cicero to Calvus, although it is plain from Cicero's letter that the death of Calvus is not recent enough to elicit comment. In any case it would seem probable that the letter of Cicero to Calvus was of recent origin, and perhaps the last of their correspondence.

But a considerable correspondence had gone on between them, which it seems necessary to assign to a time before the letter to which Trebonius refers. Priscian cites from the first book of it, so that at least there was more than one. This is somewhat surprising, since apart from the questions of rhetorical and grammatical debate we should scarcely expect a relation of such intimacy as two or more books of letters would postulate. Both in personal and in literary relations we should expect divergence of opinion and coolness, if not actual hostility, between the two men. It is of course to be understood in the case of a title such as *Cicero ad Calvum* (Priscian) that the collection contained letters of Calvus to Cicero as well. It would appear then that Cicero and Calvus had been in earlier correspondence, and that Trebonius—as an intimate friend of Cicero and therefore privy to the exchange of letters—was struck by the difference of tone between this last letter and earlier ones. A vague clue to the earlier ones is afforded by the epithets which Tacitus cites, ac-

cording to whom Calvus was called *exsanguis attritus* by Cicero, Cicero *solutus enervis* by Calvus.<sup>12</sup> It is not of course necessary, at least in the case of Calvus, to assume that these words were used as personal epithets. They may very well be merely summarizing words of a longer discussion characterizing the results of theoretical discussion and points of view. Just below Tacitus is at pains to say of the epithets which he attributes to Brutus, *ut ipsius verbis utar*, where again it is more probable that these words were used of composition than as personal epithets.

Apart from these descriptive adjectives which Tacitus preserves, and from similar ones reported by Quintilian without specific designation of source, only two citations from this correspondence have been preserved. The one from Priscian (p. 490, 8) merely illustrates the word *delitae*, and is for our purpose without significance. The other, preserved by Nonius (469, 12) is more important, and carries us into the field of rhetorical discussion.

Cicero ad Calvum: praesentit animus et augurat quodammodo quae futura sit suavitas.

I am not aware that anyone has interpreted these words, and indeed they scarcely require it. Readers familiar with the literature of rhetorical theory will recognize at once that they reproduce the Aristotelian explanation of the pleasure afforded by a rounded and cadenced sentence. In *Rhet.* 3, 9 Aristotle sets forth that the loose or continuous style is displeasing from the absence of an end to look forward to or anticipate (τὸ δὲ μὴδὲν πρὸνοεῖν . . . ἀηδές). The whole discussion of chh. 8 and 9 illustrates the point more fully, but the citation given suffices to show the correspondence of *praesentit*—πρὸνοεῖν, and *suavitas*—ἡδύ (ἀηδές). It is clear therefore that in this letter Cicero is conducting a general argument in defence of period and rhythm in oratorical style, and doubtless with the same appeal

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Quint. 9, 4, 142 in universum autem, si sit necesse, durum potius atque asperam compositionem malim esse quam effeminatam et enervem, etc. Fortunatianus p. 126, 8 (μέτρω generi dicendi) quod est contrarium? tepidum ac dissolutum et velut enerve. See other examples in TLL V, 1502, 45. Cicero's *exsanguis* is explained by Brutus 283 metuens ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat (characterization of Calvus).



to the authority of Aristotle and Theophrastus as we now find in *Orator* 172. The same thought contained in our fragment recurs in this part of the *Orator* more than once.<sup>13</sup> Upon these general resemblances of subject-matter between the letter to Calvus and the second part of the *Orator* a theory in explanation of the composition of the *Orator* may be constructed, to which perhaps I shall be bold enough to return at another time. But now let us consider the traces of the correspondence which the *Brutus* and the *Orator* still reveal.

#### ORIGINS OF THE BRUTUS AND THE ORATOR.

The letter of Trebonius to Cicero belongs to the latter part of the year 47. Whether Cicero's reply was written from Brundisium before the end of September, or from Tusculum somewhat later it is impossible to say. The letter of Trebonius reveals that through the publication of Cicero's letter to Calvus the question of the rank and position of the young orator, so recently deceased, was a matter of contemporary interest and debate. In early September of this year Cicero received from Vibius Pansa, as messenger of Caesar, the first word of reassurance about his own future that had come to him in his wretched year of waiting at Brundisium. To the same time must be assigned the letter from Brutus, who was with Caesar, to which Cicero alludes with so much grateful enthusiasm in the opening of the dialogue which bears Brutus' name: *me istis scito litteris ex diuturna perturbatione totius valetudinis tamquam ad aspiciendam lucem esse revocatum* (11). After the friendly meeting with Caesar toward the end of the month Cicero had no longer occasion to remain in the exile of Brundisium, and he thereupon proceeded at once towards Rome. For the first months of his return letters are lacking, but a well-known letter to Varro (*Fam.* 9, 1), which is assigned to the end of 47 or early 46, tells us something of his frame of mind and occupations. He has renewed friendship with his books; they upbraid him silently for his apostasy from their wisdom, but at the same time receive

<sup>13</sup> For example 199 *quare cum aures extremum semper expectent*, etc. 201 *iam a principio videndum sit quem ad modum velis venire ad extremum*. 178 *mutila sentit quaedam et quasi decurtata, quibus tamquam debito fraudetur offencitur*.

him back and grant him full pardon. A little later he writes again to Varro of his literary occupations, in which he had once sought recreation, but now salvation (9, 2). The words of this last letter suggest political rather than historical studies, and it is quite possible that to this time belongs the first essay of the *De legibus*. But it is altogether probable that his active mind, seeking an anodyne, busied itself with many plans. At all events the first product of this period of leisure was the *Brutus*.

We have already seen that the question of appraising the oratory of Calvus had arisen after his death, and that the letter of Cicero to Calvus, published as we have conjectured after his death, had elicited the surprise of Trebonius. In the absence of concrete evidence we cannot affirm anything as certain, but the situation points to a more or less general debate at this time about the career and place of the young orator. It is scarcely credible that his death should not have brought forth from his friends and followers (for his example and influence had constituted the narrower school of the *Attici*)<sup>14</sup> panegyric and counter-criticism, which would inevitably involve comparison with Cicero. Such discussion had gone on since the death of Calvus. But so long as Cicero remained at Brundisium he could have heart for nothing except the resolution of his own future. With uncertainties at length dispelled, and with eagerness to turn his hand again to literary tasks, it is easy to believe that his mind should revert to some form of vindication of that primacy in oratory which Calvus had challenged in practice and criticized in theory.

The form which this took was dictated by an accident of the time, the publication of Atticus' *Liber Annalis*. The date of this work can be fixed within narrow limits by the reference to it in the introduction of the *Brutus* (11-14). It there appears that its receipt by Cicero was approximately contemporaneous with the letter of Brutus from Asia, that is toward the end of the Brundisian exile (September 47). If perhaps not quite so early, at all events the new book was waiting for Cicero upon

<sup>14</sup> Atticum se, inquit (Brutus), Calvus noster dici oratorem volebat . . . . Dicebat, inquam, ita; sed et ipsa errabat et alios etiam errare cogebat (284).

his return to Rome, commended at once by its acknowledgment of origin in an impulse derived from the *De re publica* (*Brutus* 19), and by its personal dedication (*vestris litteris* 11). In the same passage of the *Brutus* he describes in extravagant language the effect which this book had upon him, bringing him not only delight, but restoring him to health and hope (13). We may well ask, with Atticus' modest inquiry, why a book of dry chronological tables and synchronisms should have had upon him so stimulating an effect, but the answer is given by Cicero himself: *ille vero (liber) et nova mihi quidem multa et eam utilitatem quam requirebam, ut explicatis ordinibus temporum uno in conspectu omnia viderem*. We must suppose that Cicero's mind was already occupied with the problem of a history of Roman oratory, but that the difficulties of making an orderly survey without elaborate chronological studies had baffled him. Original research in documents and public records was not his vein, and here happily and timely was at hand just that which he required—*eam utilitatem quam requirebam*.<sup>15</sup> In the light of these circumstances it is easier to understand his extravagance, that this book was his salvation. It is an old and often repeated observation that the *Brutus* is less an objective history of Roman oratory than a defence of Cicero's oratorical practice and record against the criticisms of the new school. That which gave timeliness to the work was the recent death of Calvus, and the discussions which his death provoked.

The argument of the *Brutus* is at every point turned against the type of oratory of which Calvus had been the leading exponent. Under the appearance of historical objectivity (*historia* 292) Cicero seeks to effect an inductive proof in vindication of his own position, showing by appeal to history that the type of emotional discursive oratory which he himself represented had always been the more admired and effective. Against the archaistic claims and tendencies of the Atticists he sets forth with elaborate pains: (1) the general lateness of the growth of oratory as compared with other arts, (2) the insignificance of the earlier names, and (3) the slow development toward perfection and the production of a finished orator. That this culmination is in himself he allows the reader to gather

<sup>15</sup> F. Münzer, *Atticus als Geschichtsschreiber*, *Hermes* 40 (1905), esp. pp. 61-68.

in many other places, and especially in a final significant ἀποσώρησις: Antonius Crassus, post Cotta Sulpicius, Hortensius —nihil dico amplius!

But however satisfactory the reply was to Cicero himself, it could scarcely satisfy Brutus, who found himself in the dialogue shaped into a mere echo and applauder of Cicero's own views,<sup>16</sup> without suggestion of that dissent which we know existed, and which in the *Orator* Cicero is compelled to recognize. Whether the political tendencies of the work, with its marked and bold deprecation of the present situation and its open longing for a restoration of the old republic, was acceptable to Brutus or not, here also Cicero has cast Brutus in the drama of the dialogue into a second to his own views.<sup>17</sup>

At the time of the assumed, or dramatic, date of the dialogue it appears that Brutus had not yet gone to the province of Cisalpine Gaul, with which Caesar had entrusted him (end of 47). A date for the conclusion of the work is afforded by the mention of Cato as still living. It was therefore concluded (and presumably published) before the news of Thapsus and of the suicide of Cato had reached Rome (April), and I venture to believe some considerable time before. The reason for this consists merely in the fact that a lively correspondence between Cicero and Brutus must be assumed before Cicero turned his attention to the *Orator*, which he assures us he began immediately on the completion of the *Cato*. For this work a date not later than the end of June 46 must be assumed, and the composition of the *Orator* belongs then to the summer and autumn of the same year. The occasion for the correspondence between Cicero and Brutus at this time was undoubtedly the dialogue itself, and the repercussions of comment and debate which it had elicited

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Fam.* 9, 8, 1 (Cicero to Varro) puto fore ut cum legeris mirere nos id locutos esse inter nos quod numquam locuti sumus: sed nosti morem dialogorum. For the dissent of Brutus see *Orator* ad fin. and the article of Filbey cited above.

<sup>17</sup> See Gelzer in P-W X 982, 52, and O. E. Schmidt, Briefwechsel, p. 244. The latter with great ingenuity and probability places in this context a fragment of a letter to Brutus cited by Quintilian, from which it would appear that Brutus had warned Cicero to modify the attitude taken toward Caesar and the present situation, or at least to be more cautious in expressing it.

in the lively interest of the time in all such problems.<sup>18</sup> There was much in it to provoke Brutus' dissent. Not only the false position in which he found himself placed, to which allusion has been made, but also the general trend of characterizations, such for example as the relatively slight importance which Cicero assigns to Calvus. Not the recent death of Calvus, but the death of Hortensius (for whom Brutus entertained no admiration) some four years before is the motive from which the work starts, and in this circumstance a slight could be discerned, which was not made good by any similar expression of grief for the death of Calvus and his loss to the Roman forum. Calvus is treated as an elegant but pedantic dilettante, who along with others had shown a promise which untimely death had cut off.<sup>19</sup> Again the ironical praise of the elder Cato as a Roman Lysias (63), with the subsequent brusque setting of him in his true place as a plain rustic (*hominem Tusculanum* 294), can scarcely have appealed more to Brutus than to the other archaists of the time. In the series of larger syncritical pairs which Cicero presents Brutus must have found his taste and judgment violated consistently. Galba, branded with treachery to the Lusitanians, is exalted above Laelius the wise, Rutilius the noble exile is dismissed as insignificant in oratory, Scaevola is inferior to Crassus, Cotta to Sulpicius, and so on through many lesser characterizations. Whatever the abstract truth of these may have been, it is certain that they afforded much material for dissent on the part of Brutus. The dialogue is dominated by the general idea that there are two kinds of orators, the plain speakers of clear pragmatic exposition, and those who

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Orator 52 ex tuis litteris, and 174, 1 saepius roganti, 3 quaeris saepius, etc.

<sup>19</sup> The name of Calvus is introduced (279) in a manner of curiously calculated condescension. The characterization of Calpidius has preceded. Cicero at much length has pointed out his lack of fire and emotion, and causes Brutus to echo this defect. He then proceeds to Hortensius, *qui iam unus restat*, and to himself, *tum de nobismet ipsis*. But at this point he checks himself: *quamquam facienda mentio est, ut quidem mihi videtur*—apologetically, as if a mere personal judgment, before proceeding to the recognized figures of oratorical history. Brutus did not care for the oratory of Hortensius: *hoc tibi ille minus fortasse placuit*, etc. (327), though in the following paragraph Cicero forces a perfunctory compliment into the mouth of Brutus.

seek by calculated vehemence and emotion to sway their auditors.<sup>20</sup> To the demonstration of the superiority of this latter type the argument of the *Brutus* is directed. That there is a third type superior to either, consisting in the synthesis of the other two, is barely suggested (162), nothing more.<sup>21</sup> Debate between Cicero and Brutus was probably confined to such advocacy of either side as suited the taste and judgment of each, and such debate would resolve itself into an *impasse*: 'I prefer this, you prefer that.'<sup>22</sup> To the resolution of this stalemate Cicero addresses himself in the *Orator*. You ask, dear Brutus, what I consider the best type of oratory. I will dispose of your inquiry and our debate with an answer irrefutable, viz. not one but all. I will show you that the greatest orator Demosthenes (and *sotto voce* myself) was not only master of the grand style, but equally of the plain. He does what Lysias does quite as well: but could Lysias rise to the heights of a Demosthenes? The plus is on Cicero's side: the argument is exact and overwhelming.

Cicero is at pains to represent the *Orator* as a work produced at the insistent demand of Brutus. Exactly what this means it is difficult to say, and doubtless there is in it an element of truth, but scarcely I suspect as Cicero represents it. He would have his readers believe that he does it to satisfy the eager curiosity of Brutus. In reality however it is a reasonable belief that his work is an outgrowth and product of *dissenting* criticism. The *motif* of assigning an occasion or justification for undertaking a given work in the request of the one to whom it is dedicated is one manifestation of the more personal character of ancient literature in general. It may be a mere fiction, as in many of the Ciceronian dialogues, or it may look to some other circumstance of debate or disagreement than that which it professes. If letters of this time between Brutus and Cicero were still preserved, we should I suspect discover many instances of the background of criticism against which the *Orator* is

<sup>20</sup> 201 Quoniam ergo oratorum bonorum . . . duo genera sunt, unum attenuate pressequi, alterum sublate ampleque dicentium, etsi id melius est quod splendidius et magnificentius, tamen in bonis omnia quae summa sunt iure laudantur.

<sup>21</sup> On the growth of the conception of the ideal orator see the writer's paper *De opt. gen. orat.* in this Journal, 47, p. 112 and note.

<sup>22</sup> *Ad Att.* 14, 20, 3 (de Bruto) meum mihi placebat, illi suum.

written. We have already noticed the few fragments from Brutus and Calvus which reveal such criticism, and the *Orator* itself contains at least two glances of reply to the epithets which Tacitus reports.

#### ENERVIS, ELUMBIS.

Among the hostile epithets characterizing the oratory of Cicero that which seemed to Quintilian most intolerable and sacrilegious was the suggestion of lack of virility—*ac paene, quod procul absit, viro molliorem*. From what source this monstrous phrase—an offence to the Roman ear<sup>23</sup>—originated we are not told. Scarcely from Brutus or Calvus; more likely from the bitter tongue of Asinius or his son. But nevertheless the epithets which Tacitus quotes look in the same direction—*solutum et enervem* (Calvus), *fractum atque elumbem* (*ut ipsius Bruti verbis utar*). These, like the bantering irony of *ne illi pedes faceti et deliciis ingrediendi molles* (above), may show us that Brutus was not afraid to speak out, and that his correspondence did not maintain wholly the tone of docile interrogation which Cicero would lead us to think. As for Calvus, we have already seen Cicero urging upon him the charm (*suavitas*) that lies in a cadenced close and in its anticipation. To the criticism of Calvus that such rhythm weakened the structure of prose and made it soft Cicero replies in the *Orator* (229, in connection with the preceding section). Rhythm he urges corresponds to form in athletics: it is not only more graceful, it is more effective:

Itaque qualis eorum motus quos ἀπτελαίστρονς Graeci vocant, talis horum mihi videtur oratio qui non claudunt numeris sententias, tantumque abest ut—quod ei qui hoc aut magistrorum inopia aut ingeni tarditate aut laboris fuga non sunt adsecuti solent dicere—*enervetur* oratio compositione verborum, ut aliter in ea nec impetus ullus nec vis esse possit.

Here then in *enervetur oratio* we have the reflection of Calvus' epithet *enervis*, and for good measure confirmed by the words *quod ei solent dicere*.

<sup>23</sup> *De orat.* 2, 277 Egilius, qui videretur esse mollior [i. e. παθικός] nec esset.

A little further on in the same context Cicero, after speaking of inappropriate and injudicious employment of rhythm, concludes (231):

Quae vitia qui fugerit, ~~et~~ neque verbum ita traiciat ut id de industria factum intellegatur, neque inferciens verba quasi rimas expleat, nec minutos numeros sequens concidat *delumbetque* sententias, nec sine ulla commutatione in eodem semper versetur genere numerorum, is omnia fere vitia vitaverit.

Here again the words of Brutus which Tacitus cites show that *concidat delumbetque*<sup>24</sup> are a reply to criticism—criticism which was indeed extreme, stamping Cicero as an Asiatic and placing him in the same category with an Hegesias (*infringendis concidendisque numeris*, 230). As Cicero generalizes Calvus above with the words *quod ei solent dicere*, so here he generalizes himself with *quae vitia qui fugerit*.

These two passages afford the only tangible examples which have survived into the *Orator* of the preliminary debate which led up to its composition, though, as we have seen, other fragments of the letters of Brutus and Calvus breath the same atmosphere. There is a suggestion at least in the *Dialogus* that Asinius also should be added to the correspondents<sup>25</sup> critical of Cicero's style. That he and his son Asinius Gallus were bitter and persistent opponents of it is known from other sources. Their attacks were directed not only against the composition of Cicero, but also against his diction, choice of words, etc. We

<sup>24</sup> *Delumbis* was a quasi technical designation of soft and effeminate composition, especially in the rhythms of the clausula, as may be seen best from Diomedes (*de compositione or structura*), p. 472: Certain combinations he points out yield *structura quae vel delumbis vel fluxa vel mollis dicitur*. On the general atmosphere of the word there is no more instructive passage than Persius 1, 104 *summa delumbe saliva hoc natat in labris* (with the preceding examples). For *lumbis* see the commentary of Gudeman, *Dial.*, p. 319.

<sup>25</sup> Ch. 25 extr. *Nam quod invicem se obtrecentaverunt—et sunt aliqua epistulis eorum inserta ex quibus mutua malignitas detegitur—non est oratorum vitia, sed hominum. Nam et Calvum et Asinium et ipsum Ciceronem credo solitos et invidere et livere et ceteris humanae infirmitatis vitiis adfici: solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenuè iudicium animi sui detexisse.*



cannot doubt that Calvus, meticulous purist, shared in such criticism, but our sources do not reveal it specifically. Quintilian (12, 1, 22) distinguishes carefully between the criticism of Brutus and Calvus qui compositionem reprædant, and the Asinii qui vitia orationis eius etiam inimice pluribus locis insequuntur. It is easy to believe that Cicero exposed a flank to the hyper-sensitive critic who detected the Patavinity of Livy.<sup>26</sup> But for Asinius the father there is I believe no specific evidence, beyond the generalities of Quintilian and Tacitus, available. But the same general direction of criticism may be discerned from the account which Gellius (17, 1) gives of Asinius Gallus and Largius Licinus (author of a *Ciceromastix*): scribere ausi sunt M. Ciceronem parum integre atque improprie atque inconsiderate locutum. This looks to questions of diction and forms of words (like the Asinian criticism of pugillaria for pugillares in Catullus)—the pedantries of purists, with which Cicero had small patience.<sup>27</sup> Testimony more nearly contemporaneous to the same sort of criticism is furnished by the amusing story which the Elder Seneca relates of the rhetorician L. Cestius Pius. He was present at a dinner given by the younger Marcus Cicero, governor of Asia in 29, whose memory, naturally feeble, deserted him utterly in his cups. In reply to repeated inquiries as to the name of his guest a servant sought to impress upon his master the identity of the man by describing him as the one, qui negabat patrem tuum litteras (that is γραμματικὴν) scisse (*Suas.* 7, 13). The device was effective, it will be remembered, to the discomfiture of Cestus.

That the *Orator* with its vigorous polemical tone should bring controversy to an end was not to be expected. In his epilogue Cicero already foresees that Brutus is not to be won over, and a letter of later date confirms this (*Att.* 14, 20 quod mihi placeret non probari). There is still less reason to think that the following of Calvus was affected. To follow through the subsequent criticism of Ciceronian oratory is beside the present purpose. But one trace of continued discussion which took its rise from the words of the *Orator* itself may be added: at

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the writer's paper "A Witticism of Asinius Pollio," in this *Journal*, 36, 70-75.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. G. R. Throop, *Ancient Literary Detractors of Cicero*. Wash. Univ. Studies, St. Louis.

Cicero . . . reprehenditur a quibusdam tamquam orationem ad rhythmos adliget . . . invadunt ergo hanc inter ceteras vocem (Quint. 9, 4, 53), 'neque enim Demosthenis fulmina tanto opere vibratura' dicit, 'nisi numeris contorta ferrentur' (= *Orat.* 234). For Cicero's oratorical prestige fate was kinder than his critics. Death had already taken Calvus. Calidius died in his province far from Rome. Fate and circumstance had eliminated Cato, Brutus, Caesar. Neither Asinius nor Mesala seem as yet to have won a commanding name as orators. A year later than the *Orator* he could fancy that the Atticists had been driven from the field (*Tusc.* 2, 3). But the triumph, if not imaginary, was short-lived, and the death of Cicero loosed the tongues of many who had not ventured to face his living word: postea vero quam triumvirali proscriptione consumptus est, passim qui oderant, qui invidebant, qui aemulabantur, adulatores etiam praesentis potentiae non responsurum invaserunt (Quint. 12, 10, 13). Atticism, perhaps less specifically a school of Greek imitation, but a more comprehensive reaction towards Roman traditions and Latin purism,<sup>28</sup> passed over to the coming age. Its leading patrons and exponents are Asinius and Mesala; it is exemplified in extant literature in the prose of Sallust and Nepos, in the poetry of Tibullus and Horace.

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<sup>28</sup> See the writer's paper, "The Neoteric Poets and the Latin Purists," *Cl. Phil.*, vol. 12, pp. 329 ff.

## IVSTAE QVIBVS EST MEZENTIVS IRAE

For everyday purposes it is a sacrosanct principle in Latin syntax that, if an adjective accompany a predicative dative, it must be an adjective of quantity, of the type *magnus*, *tantus*, not an adjective of quality, of the type *malus*, *talis*. That principle is certainly violated if *iustae irae*, in Virgil's well-known line (*Aen.*, x. 714), comes under the rubric of predicative dative. The object of this article is to challenge the view—so far as I know, universally held—that Virgil permitted himself such a violation, and to advance the counter-thesis that the phrase is an instance of the genitive of quality.

The modern commentators on Virgil generally content themselves with quoting or alluding to Macrobius. Macrobius' words run thus (*Sat.* vi. 6, 9): *Haud aliter iustae quibus est Mezentius irae*. Odio esse aliquem usitatum, irae esse inuentum Maronis est. Roby's remark is: 'One real exception [to the principle stated above] occurs, in Vergil, viz. *iustae irae*. It is an exception which proves the rule; for the whole expression is one of Vergil's experiments, and described as such by Macrobius.'<sup>1</sup>

Our distinguished grammarian writes here with less than his ordinary precision. If Virgil had used an unqualified *irae* as a predicative dative, that would still have been an experiment. But it cannot strictly be said that the *whole* expression is described by Macrobius in these terms. Macrobius perhaps did not realize, perhaps disregarded as unimportant, the presence of the adjective.

And supposing that Macrobius *was* conscious of the whole expression *iustae irae*, and still decided that the words are dative like *odio*, can we trust his *ipse dixit*, his grammatical insight, his feeling for language? He wrote modestly regarding himself (*Sat.*, praef., 11): nisi sicubi nos sub alio ortos caelo Latinae linguae uena non adiuuet : . . 12 petitum impetratumque uolumus ut aequi bonique consulant, si in nostro sermone natia Romani oris elegantia desideretur. As it is difficult to judge any man's feeling for language by merely one point, I think

<sup>1</sup> *Latin Grammar*, vol. ii, p. xxxiii. My references are to the edition of 1889.

it is not irrelevant to refer to his pronouncement on a similar Virgilian question. In *Sat.* vi. 8, 1 ff., he discusses Virgil's (*Aen.*, vii. 187)

ipse Quirinali lituo partaque sedebat | succinctus trabea,

and (in the person of Servius) decides that *Q. lituo* is an ablative of quality. The whole passage is amazing, not only for the coolness with which Macrobius merely plagiarizes from Aulus Gellius (v. 8), but for his calm refusal fairly to face a real difficulty. *Picus Q. lituo erat*—so the scholarship of Aulus Gellius and Macrobius assures us—arouses no greater qualms than *uictorem Buten immani corpore*, or *statua grandi capite erat*! One desiderates a mention of the alternative possibility that there is a zeugma in the word *succinctus*, so that out of it may be supplied *instructus* or *ornatus*. And surely *immani corpore* and *grandi capite* are anything but convincing parallels: to gain the assent of scholarly readers, one would require to cite a passage like *Cic. Fam.* ix. 21, 2 fuerunt sella curuli (accepted in the second edition (1918) of Tyrrell and Purser's commentary, but rejected<sup>2</sup> by them in 1894), or *Tac. Hist.*, ii. 82, firmus aduersus militarem largitionem, eoque exercitu meliore (accepted in Fisher's text). I greatly doubt if any modern scholar would hold that we are bound by Macrobius' judgment, even with Aulus Gellius behind it, that *Q. lituo* is an ablative of quality. And I believe that his dictum in regard to *iustae irae*, owing to the same insufficiency of statement and argument, is equally questionable.

Macrobius was not alone among ancient scholars in taking *irae* as dative. Arusianus Messius (fourth century) among his *Exempla Elocutionum* (241 L) includes *Irae mihi est illud, sicut dolori mihi est*, and quotes the passage of Virgil. But on such a point can we trust the *Exx. Eloc.*, which from the modern standpoint often seems a stupid work? at all events it is strange to find there that *animi atrox* illustrates the construction *atrox huius rei*, or *itque reditque uiam* the construction *it illam rem*; and the author is still in bondage to the notion that *concupitu*, *uenatu*, *uestitu*, *uictu*, with such verbs as *indulgere* and *in-uigilare*, are ablatives. (Aulus Gellius in the second century

<sup>2</sup> It was argued e. g. by Wesenberg that one might as readily write *bono equo esse* as *sella curuli esse*.

knew better.) Further, it is pretty certain that, since Arusianus Messius says *dolori* and Macrobius *odio*, Macrobius cannot have been dependent on the slightly earlier *Exx. Eloc.*, but compiler as he was, or, writ large, *compiler*, he must have borrowed from the work of some other. Who was that other? Thilo<sup>3</sup> is of opinion that these particular chapters of Macrobius derive their materials ultimately from Aemilius Asper (say of the first or second century). Aemilius Asper, however excellent his reputation in certain respects, is a very shadowy figure; we cannot definitely father upon him this account of *iustae irae*; and if the work on the language of Virgil attributed to him is really his, he had some things to learn, e. g. (like Arusianus Messius) the construction of *indulgere*. All the same, suppose that it be frankly admitted that ancient opinion, so far as we know it in the persons of probably three representatives, is unanimous in regarding *iustae irae* as dative! Can we draw up an indictment against the scholarship of the first four centuries of the Christian era, and hold that professed grammarians and accomplished writers, who had used the Latin tongue from infancy, could be confused between a genitive—or it might be, an ablative—and a dative, and did not know the precise sense of a construction? Let me quote from a closely reasoned argument on a similar topic. The late W. R. Hardie, when contending that modern metricians know more about Greek verse than the Greeks did, wrote thus: ‘Do we accept [the grammar of the ancients] or their critical treatment of texts? They spoke their language and wrote the texts, but is it not the case that the arts of analysis and interpretation lagged far behind creation, and were developed surprisingly late? Do we believe Quintilian when he says of the “Historical Infinitive”: “*stupere gaudio Graecus: simul enim auditur coepit*” . . .? Is it a happy description of the shorter gen. pl. in Latin (*deum*) to say that it is the acc. sing. used for the gen. pl.? . . . Why should the Greek treatment of metre be supposed to be infallible?’<sup>4</sup>—It is the old story: the plain man may give a proper judicial decision, but, from the legal standpoint, the reasons which he states for it may be all wrong: strictly logical argu-

<sup>3</sup> *Servii in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii* rec. Thilo et Hagen, vol. i, praef. p. xxv.

<sup>4</sup> *Res Metrica*, pp. ix f.

ment may be conducted by persons who have learned none of the jargon of the formal discipline: Zielinski and Laurand have rendered explicit, in vaster detail than Cicero ever dreamed of, the principles which the orator consciously and unconsciously followed in the construction of his *clausulae*. Yet so impossible is it for us moderns to master Latin, if we master it at all, otherwise than by laborious and unstinted 'discourse of reason,' that we find it difficult to imagine a Cicero or a Virgil, a Terence or a Tacitus, taking his guidance from the cultivated society around him, and that daemon, the genius of the language, within his breast; and saying, on some occasions at least, 'I know that this phrase, which is an adequate expression of my meaning, is also correct or ultimately justifiable,<sup>5</sup> but it is not *my* business to examine all the logic of the construction.' That Romans spoke, wrote, and understood their language in that intuitive fashion, would seem to us incredible—if it were not true.

To pass from Macrobius and other ancients to the modern scholars, Roby's<sup>6</sup> services in regard to the predicative dative were very important. Not only did he furnish an excellent list of the actual instances, but he clearly enunciated the principle of the quantitative nature of the possible attribute, and dealt on common-sense lines with such an exception as Cicero's *sempiternae laudi*. The main fault I have to find with his treatment is that, quoting such a phrase as *nullo adiumento* (which *prima facie* is ablative), and admitting that such other phrases as *funebri indicio*, *maiore miraculo*, *gratissimo pabulo*, were certainly or possibly ablatives, he did not add to his well-known list of predicative nominatives<sup>7</sup> (*argumentum*, *exitium*, etc.) a companion-list of the ablatives and genitives of quality that contain a noun which commonly occurs in the predicative dative. Nieländer,<sup>8</sup> who was compiling his lists about the same time, frequently cited such parallel phrases, but they did not suggest any general question to his mind. He accepted *iustae irae* as

<sup>5</sup> Where logic cannot justify the classical writer, we have the happy hunting-ground of the psychological grammarian.

<sup>6</sup> *Latin Grammar*, vol. ii, pp. xxv ff.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. ii, p. xxix.

<sup>8</sup> *Der Faktitive Dativus* (four 'programmes' I. 1874: II. 1877: III. 1 1893: III. 2 1894).

predicative, or as he calls it, factitive, dative, though he (wrongly, I think) took *memorabili exemplo* as an ablative of quality in Pliny *N. H.* xxxiv. 3. 92 (ex omnibus autem maxime cognomine insignis est Callimachus . . . catatexitechnus appellatus, memorabili exemplo adhibendi et curae modum), and though he (rightly, I think) understood Ovid *Met.* x, 628 (non erit invidiae uictoria nostra ferendae) as containing definitely a genitive of quality.

I have therefore compiled the following list, probably by no means exhaustive, of the phrases, both attributive and predicative, in which we have an ablative or genitive of quality that may fairly be put alongside of a predicative dative.

Adiumentum—Abl.:—*Rhet. ad Her.* ii. 11. 16 nos uero arbitramur non modo nullo adiumento esse sed potius maximo impedimento: Cic. *Verr.* ii. 5. § 103 ubi hoc uidet . . . tabellas sibi nullo adiumento futuras.

Admiratio—Gen.:—Val. Max. i. 6. 5 praecipuae admirationis etiam illa prodigia (sunt): i. 7. 3 illud etiam somnium et magnae admirationis et clari exitus: i. 8 Ext. 14 ne illius quidem paruae admirationis oculi: Pliny *N. H.* xvi. 40. 201 abies admirationis praecipuae uisa est in naue: Apul. *Met.* iii. 2 rem admirationis maximae conspicio.

Amor—Abl.:—Tac. *Ann.* vi. 51 Drusus prosperiore ciuium amore erat.

Cibus—Gen.:—Varro *R. R.* ii. 11. 3 ex hoc lacte casei qui fiunt maximi cibi sunt bubui . . . minimi cibi . . . caprini.

Cura—Gen.:—Val. Max. vii. 7 init. uacemus nunc negotio, quod actorum hominis et praecipuae curae<sup>9</sup> et ultimi est temporis.

Exemplum—Gen.:—Livy viii. 7. 22 ut . . . Manliana imperia . . . exempli tristis in posterum essent: xxvi. 2. 2 rem mali exempli esse, imperatores legi ab exercitibus: xxxiv. 61. 13 mali rem exempli esse de nihilo hospites corripit: Val. Max. iv. 1. 11 quoniam unius testimonio aliquem cadere pessimi esset exempli: Petronius *Sat.* 111 singularis exempli femina: Pliny *N. H.* vii. 16. 68 in feminis ea res inauspicati fuit exempli regum temporibus: Pliny *Epist.* iii. 1. 5 uxorem singularis exempli: *Epist. ad Trai.* 97 [98] et pessimi ex-

<sup>9</sup> This may also be possessive genitive. There is the same doubt in regard to such an expression as *magnae deliberationis*.

empli nec nostri saeculi est: Suet. *Aug.* 32 pleraque pessimi exempli: *Vit.* 10 quicquid praetorianarum cohortium fuit, ut pessimi exempli, uno exauctoravit edicto.

Fructus—Abl.:—Varro *R. R.* i. 7. 2 sequi ut maiore quoque fructu sint.

Gloria—Gen.:—Livy xxi. 21. 6 ut . . . bellum ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus.

Impedimentum—Abl.:—Cic. *Att.* x. 18 mirificae tranquillitates . . . maiore impedimento fuerunt quam custodiae quibus adseruor [maiore *M. maiori Orelli*]: Sall. *Iug.* 97. 3 rati noctem et uictis sibi munimento fore, et, si uicissent, nullo impedimento.

Indicium—Abl.:—Pliny *N. H.* xvi. 10. 40 picea montes amat atque frigora: feralis arbor et funebri indicio ad fores posita.

Instrumentum—Abl.:—Pliny *N. H.* xxxiv. 14. 138 optimo pessimoque uitae instrumento est (ferrum) [reading slightly doubtful in other respects, but certain for the important words.].

Inuidia<sup>10</sup>—Abl.:—Cic. *Att.* ii. 9. 1 non enim poterimus ulla esse inuidia: *Q. Fr.* iii. 2. 2 tanta inuidia sunt consules: *Rep.* vi. 2 cum causa pari collegae essent, non modo inuidia pari non erant . . . : Corn. Nep. xviii. 7. 2 credens minore se inuidia fore: Pliny *N. H.* praef. 27 magna inuidia fuere omnia ea: Tac. *Ann.* vi. 5 Cotta Messalinus . . . inueterata inuidia.

Gen.:—Ovid *Am.* iii. 6. 21 non eris inuidiae, torrens, mihi crede, ferendae: *Met.* x. 628 non erit inuidiae uictoria nostra ferendae.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> It is worthy of remark that it is only in Prop. i. 12. 9 inuidiae fuimus that *inuidiae* (dat.) *esse* has a personal subject (like *odio esse*). Usually the construction is *aliquid est inuidiae alicui*, 'some thing causes ill-will to (against) some person.'

<sup>11</sup> The construction is a little doubtful—dative of work contemplated, possessive genitive, are championed by some—but that the genitive of quality is the most probable explanation is acknowledged by excellent editors, e. g. by Owen (on *Tristia* ii. 328), who compares with the gerundive *ferendae* (as qualitative genitive) Juv. xiii. 148 pocula adorandae roginis. I add two similar instances of a gerundive in a qualitative ablative, Plaut. *Pers.* 521 forma expetenda liberalem virginem: Tac. *Ann.* xv. 4 amnis hauri spernenda latitudine; and one of



Labor—Gen.:—Cic. *De Orat.* i. § 150 est enim magni laboris, quem plerique fugimus.

Miraculum—Abl.:—Pliny *L. H.* ix. 15. 46 in eodem esse . . . haud modico miraculo adfert uermes: xiii. 13. 85 hos fuisse e charta, maiore etiamnum miraculo,<sup>12</sup> quod infossi durauerint: xxvii. 11. 99 nec quicquam inter herbas maiore equidem miraculo aspexi: Suet. *Otho* 12 per quae factum putem ut mors eius minime congruens uitae maiore miraculo fuerit.

Gen.:—Pliny *N. H.* xxxii. 4. 42 non quia ignoremus gratiorem esse universitatem animalium, maiorisque miraculi.

Mora—Abl.:—Pliny *N. H.* xxxvi. 15. 114 opus maximum omnium quae unquam fuisse humana manu facta, non temporaria mora verum etiam aeternitatis destinatione.

Oblectatio<sup>13</sup>—Gen.:—Tac. *Ann.* iv. 14 Oscum . . . ludicrum leuissimae apud uulgum oblectationis.

Odium—Abl.:—Cic. *Verr. Act.* i. § 42 quo maiore . . . apud eos odio esse debet: *Att.* ii. 25. 2 re publica nihil desperatius, iis (*abl.*) quorum opera, nihil maiore odio: Tac. *Ann.* xii. 30 subiectis, dum adipiscerentur dominationes, multa caritate, et maiore odio, postquam adepti sunt: xiv. 62 leui post admissum scelus gratia, dein grauiore odio.

Pabulum—Abl.:—Pliny *N. H.* xviii. 12. 120 (fabae) namque siliquae caulesque gratissimo sunt pabulo pecori.

Praesidium—Abl.:—Cic. *Quinct.* § 5 quod ei tu iudex nullo praesidio fuisse uidebere contra uim.

Gen.:—Pliny *N. H.* xxviii. 6. 62 contra ictus spiritum cohibere singularis praesidii est.

Quaestio<sup>14</sup>—Gen.:—Pliny *N. H.* vii. 28. 101 fortitudo in quo maxime exstiterit immensae quaestionis est: xxviii. 2. 10 ex

*ferendus* as the attribute of an objective genitive, Cic. *Off.* iii. § 36 opum nimiarum, potentiae non ferendae . . . regnandi . . . cupiditates.

<sup>12</sup> This may also be ablative absolute.

<sup>13</sup> Roby has no reference to *oblectationi* as predicative dative, but Nieländer (II. p. 36) takes the word so in Tac. *Germ.* 33 oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt.

<sup>14</sup> For *quaestioni* as predicative dative, Nieländer cites Justin ii. 10. 15 quaestioni res diu fuit: as for the genitives in Pliny, they may be qualitative, or may be possessive.

homine remediorum primum maximae quaestionis et semper incertae polleantne aliquid uerba.

Remedium—Abl.:—Pliny *N. H.* xxii. 25. 119 praesentaneo sunt remedio: xxiii. 8. 149 nuclei praesenti remedio esse dicuntur: xxiv. 13. 118 singulari remedio intelligitur (esse): xxiv. 13. 121 alterum genus ruki . . . gignit pilulam castaneae similem, calculosis praecipuo remedio: xxv. 8. 90 sucus decoquitur, singulari remedio contra caligines oculorum.

Gen.:—Pliny *N. H.* xv. 10. 36 quartum pitydia uocant . . . singularis remedii aduersus tussim: xxi. 18. 118 radix aduersus serpentium ictus et scorpionum praesentis remedii est: xxvii. 12. 127 eximii aduersus scorpiones remedii: xxxiv. 11. 114 haec omnia trita aceto Thasio colliguntur in pilulas, excellentis remedii contra initia glaucomatum: xxxvi. 20. 147 esse ad iocineris uitae praecipui remedii.

Signum—Abl.:—Pliny *N. H.* xvi. 33. 139 cupressus . . . Diti sacra et ideo funebri signo ad domos posita.

Spectaculum—Abl.:—Varro *R. R.* i. 2. 10 fundi eius . . . iucundiore spectaculo sunt multis: Val. Max. iii. 2. 23 hinc Romanis, illinc Britannicis oculis incredibili, nisi cernereris, spectaculo fuisti.

Gen.:—Livy xxix. 26. 1 sed ne priore quidem (bello) ulla profectio tanti spectaculi fuit.

Venenum—Abl.:—Pliny *N. H.* xxiv. 1. 2 ceteris iumentis praesentaneo ueneno.

Vitium—Abl.:—Cic. *Tusc.* iv. § 66 eodem enim uitio est effusio animi in laetitia quo in dolore contractio.

Vsus—Gen.:—Caes. *B. C.* iii. 45. 6 non recusare se quin nullius usus imperator existimaretur: Livy xxxi. 39. 10 quae . . . nullius admodum usus est: Pliny *N. H.* xiv. 10. 86 nullum (uinum) ex his plus quam annui usus: xxi. 18. 117 radix . . . quam . . . cyperida uocant, magni in medicina usus: xxiv. 5. 17 (cedrus) magni ad uelamina usus . . . defuncta corpora . . . seruat: xxiv. 5. 19 oleum . . . uehementioris ad omnia eadem usus: xxiv. 16. 152 nascitur in palustribus, magnifici usus ad uulnera cum aceto: (ibid.) herbam eximii usus ad uulnera: xxv. 13. 151 cicuta quoque uenenum est . . . ad multa tamen usus non committendi: xxix. 3. 55 fit ex

adipe anserum—alioqui celeberrimi usus, set ad hoc in Com-magene Syriae parte: Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* x. 6. 1 (est) usus frequentissimi: Suet. *Aug.* 71 et mox uasa aurea assiduissimi usus conflauerit omnia: *Nero* 47 duos scyphos gratissimi usus: Aul. Gell. iv. 1. 6 rem ectidiani usus.

Utilitas—Abl.:—Varro *R. R.* i. 4. 2 nemo enim eadem utilitati<sup>15</sup> (*abl.*) non formosius quod est emere mauult pluris, quam si est fructuosus turpis: Pliny *N. H.* xxvi. 8. 88 (silaus) coquitur ut olus acidum, magna utilitate uesicae.

Gen.:—Caes. *B. C.* iii. 16. 3 ne res maximae spei maximaeque utilitatis eius iracundia impedirentur: Pliny *N. H.* xxiv. 11. 88 papyrum praecipuae utilitatis cum inaruit: xxix. 3. 55 de anserum ouis magnae utilitatis: Aul. Gell. i. 3. 30 id maxime exploratae utilitatis est: xvi. 1 (caption) eiusdemque utilitatis sententia.

Before discussing *iustae irae* closely, I wish to make some remarks on the foregoing list:

(1) To take one instance out of several, the predicative dative construction is *aliquid est gloriae* or *honori*, 'some thing is the cause of glory or honour (to some person).' But no one says *aliquis honori est*, 'some one is honored.' Accordingly I have not included in the list sentences like Cic. *Att.* i. 21. 5 (Bibulus) admirabili gloria est: Cic. *De Orat.* ii. § 75 quod eius nomen erat magna apud omnis gloria: Caes. *B. G.* vi. 13. 4 magno hi sunt apud eos honore.<sup>16</sup> For the ablative of quality is not being used in anything like the same sense, or applied to the same kind of subject, as the predicative dative. Similarly, we have Cic. *Fam.* xv. 19. 2 quanto amori probitas et clementia: i. e. *aliquid* (and possibly *aliquis*) amori est, 'is the cause of love, is love-

<sup>15</sup> *Eadem utilitati* perhaps depends on *quod est* as ablative of quality. I think it is more probably ablative absolute.

<sup>16</sup> Editors are not unanimous in their treatment of such ablatives. If any reader, relying e. g. on Mayor's note on Cic. *Phil.* ii. § 71 (*quo numero fuisti?*), or on Riemann's account of *parentis loco, hostium numero* (*Syntaxe latine*<sup>5</sup> p. 138), regards them as instances virtually of the local ablative, I refer him to Madvig *Lat. Gr.* § 272 obs. 2, Kühnast *Liv. Synt.* p. 179, Nipperdey *Opuscula* p. 173, Tyrrell and Purser's notes on Cic. *Fam.* viii. 2, 1 [Ep. 196] and (in their second edition) *Fam.* ix. 21. 2 [Ep. 497], where the claims of the ablative of quality or description are accepted.

able': therefore, while *prosperiore amore erat* (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 51) is included in my list, Cic. *Att.* iii. 5 *ut eodem amore sis* ('feel the same love') Cic. *Post Red. in Sen.* § 24 *tanto amore in me*, are, on grounds of irrelevance, omitted.

(2) It seldom happens that one and the same noun is used in both ablative and genitive indifferently. And if a noun abides by one of these cases, it is seldom possible to forecast which of the two cases that will be. Further, there are advantages in the fact that both ablatives and genitives of quality are found. If Livy writes *tanti spectaculi* and if Valerius Maximus shows himself in general not averse to the qualitative construction, is there any reason why in this latter author *incredibili spectaculo* should be ranked as a strained use of predicative dative, and not as an ablative of quality? The elder Pliny is very fond of a loose ablative absolute<sup>17</sup> (e. g. *N. H.* xii. 26. 129 *dat et malobathrum Syria . . . fertilior e eiusdem Aegypto*), and one is tempted to bring under this head every difficult ablative phrase in his work. Thus, in *N. H.* xxvi. 8. 88 (*silaus*) *coquitur ut olus acidum, magna utilitate vesicae*, some may regard the ablative as absolute merely: but when one is confronted with *N. H.* xv. 10. 36 *quartum pitydia vocant . . . singularis remedii adversus tussim*, he must, I think, admit that the ablative phrase may, with equal reason, be ranked under abl. *qualitatis*.

(3) *Remedium est: remedio est: singulari remedio est: singularis remedii est*. What precisely are the differences among these?<sup>18</sup> The predicative dative probably means 'it serves to heal' 'it results in healing' 'it causes healing.' The predicative nominative is the plain 'it is a remedy.' With a certain type of noun, the predicative nominative may perhaps be more striking and metaphorical: I should think, for example, that when Cicero (*Verr. Act.* i. § 11) spoke of Verres' *legatio* as *exitium Asiae*, it was in the same strong sense in which a Roman would speak of some person as *lues* or *uorago*, or in which we might describe a person or thing as 'our despair.' The ablative

<sup>17</sup> For a good list of these see Johann Müller *Der Stil des älteren Plinius* (1883), pp. 28 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cp. Nieländer, I. p. 7, who does not examine the question in detail, but quotes Grimm's general remark: 'Der feinere Gebrauch hat jedesmal zu wählen unter diesen Formen: leise Unterschiede hängen davon.'

and genitive of quality (between which, for our present purpose, there is virtually no difference) succeed somehow in indicating the same ideas as the predicative dative, but from another aspect—this, namely, that there is attached to the subject a certain endowment, possession, characteristic: ‘it is possessed of a peculiar power to heal’: *maiore impedimento est* ‘it has a greater hindering power.’ I think it must be conceded, on the one hand, that the difference of ultimate meaning between predicative dative and ablative or genitive of quality is seldom, if ever, of any real importance (e. g. *maiori odio* ‘he causes greater hatred’—*maiore odio* ‘he has greater hatred attached to him’ ‘he is the object of greater hatred’): and, on the other hand, that, though the English language may find it difficult to supply anything like a literal translation for *incurdiore spectaculo*, *funebri signo*, there is no reason to suppose that the use of such substantives in these ablative and genitive phrases seemed to the Romans to put an excessive strain on the original meaning of the words.

(4) If this is granted, I think the claim of a phrase like *nullo adiumento*, *nullo impedimento*, to recognition as an ablative of quality *in its own right* is absolutely indefeasible. (Roby, it may be remembered, classified these as predicative datives, with *nullo* as an archaic or variant form of that case: Nienländer<sup>19</sup> thought that the phrases were ablative, but that they arose through false analogy, because it was supposed that *magno adiumento*, etc. were ablative.) For let it be remembered (a) that *nullus* in the ablative of quality has a most respectable history: e. g. Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 1369 *fide nulla esse te*: Cic. *Phil.* iii. § 16 *homo nullo numero*: Cic. *Att.* ii. 9.1 *non . . . ulla esse invidia*: Pliny *Epist.* vi. 29 *multos . . . nullis litteris*: Tac. *Hist.* i. 64 *nullo . . . honore fuit*. (b) that if *singularis remedium*, *tanti spectaculi*, *maiore impedimento* can give a justifiable sense, *nullo impedimento*, and the like, as ablatives, can hardly be rejected. The question, I admit, is complicated by the fact that Caesar is credited with having written *B. C.* ii. 7. 1 *Nasidianae naues nullo usui fuerunt*. But no other Roman writer, so far as I am aware, followed him in supposing that *nullus* was an appropriate word to accompany a predicative

<sup>19</sup> I. p. 31.

dative; and Caesar, it seems to me, may have been working on the doctrinaire principle that where a predicative dative could go, *nullus* (= a strengthened *non*) could also go. Certainly, in another passage (*B. C.* iii. 45. 6) he used the genitive phrase *nullius usus*, which, I hope, may have represented his maturest judgment.

(5) On all accounts, I think that the syntactical conscience is relieved of an enormous burden if *nullo adiumento*, *praesenti remedio*, etc. can be removed from Roby's list of predicative datives, and treated as ablatives of quality.

To grapple now with *iustae irae*, I would point out that the only definite instance of *irae* as a predicative dative is later than Virgil, viz. Sil. Ital. *Pun.* xi. 304 Hannibal est irae tibi. This may be an argument—at best it is inconclusive—to show that the later poet understood the line of Virgil as containing the same construction. Apart from the Mezentius line, Virgil can hardly be accused of temerity in his use of the predicative dative. He has something like twenty-five certain instances, of which *curae* and *auxilio* are the most common: there are accompanying adjectives only in *Geo.* iii. 112 tantae curae and *Aen.* v. 523 magno augurio.

The ordinary reader of Virgil, with or without Roby at his elbow, is apt to suppose that nouns which are found as predicative datives never, or very seldom, occur in one of the qualitative constructions. The list given above contains fully twenty-five such words, in about eighty-five instances: previous to Virgil there are twelve words, and about seventeen or eighteen instances. Further, every one readily imagines that *iustae est irae* as qualitative genitive can only mean 'he feels just anger.' A few minutes' study of the list should, I think, disabuse the mind of this notion. Consider these parallel instances:

English	Predicative Dative	Ablative and Genitive of Quality
to be the object of admiration	admirationi esse	praecipuae admirationis
to be the object of odium	invidiae esse	{ inueterata invidia: invidiae non ferendae
to be the object of hatred	odio esse	maiore odio.

Seeing that before his time, *irae* had not, so far as we know, been used as a predicative dative, seeing that before his time *maiore odio* (abl.) had been used, as well as *quanto odio* (dat.), can it be said that Virgil—if Virgil really argued with himself on the matter—would think himself limited to the predicative dative construction in any experiment he might make with *ira*? One last prejudice perhaps remains. It may be supposed by some that in Virgil's line the presence of the dative of the personal object (*quibus*) necessarily marks the *iustae irae* as predicative dative. But that dative of the personal object very naturally represents what, in a number of passages, is represented by *apud* and the accusative (*maiore apud eos odio, levissimae apud vulgum oblectationis*): and under *adiumentum, remedium, spectaculum, venenum, utilitas*, the reader will find instances of the dative of the person (or of the equivalent of the person) accompanying a qualitative phrase. I venture to think that my whole proof is clinched by the citation of Tac. *Ann.* xii. 30 *subiectis, dum adipiscerentur dominationes, multa caritate, et maiore odio, postquam adepti sunt.*

I maintain therefore that on every ground the balance of probability is in favour of the supposition that *iustae irae* is a genitive of quality.

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## SOME NOTES ON ROMAN TRAGEDY

It is a familiar fact that from the very outset Roman dramatists produced plays the titles of which do not correspond to anything in the list of Greek tragedies known to us. Apart from the possibility of *Contaminatio*, the following alternatives seem open:

1. The plays may represent Greek originals of which the very names have vanished, except as preserved in the Latin imitations.
2. They may represent Greek originals known to us under other titles.
3. They may represent an independent handling of the common legends.

Of these (1) has, as a rule, been assumed by the older criticism to be necessarily true. Nauck, for example, actually includes a number of these Roman titles in his *Index Fabularum* (T. G. F. 2, pp. 963ff.). Neither proof nor disproof, unfortunately, is possible; but either (2) or (3) may be right in any particular case, and neither should be neglected. Such a play as the *Equus Troianus* (Livius, Naevius) must have followed much the same story as Aen. II, 57-198 and 233-65 (cf. Hyginus 108); and, if the record of the *Sinon* of Sophocles be genuine, it too must have described the same events. Both the *Ἰλίου πέρις* and the *Ἀπόλλων* (cf. Aristotle *Poetics* XXIII), too, probably derived their plots in some measure from the story of Sinon; there was thus abundant material already in tragic form for the Romans to draw upon. But if any one of these three plays served as a model, the mere fact of the change of title suggests that the persons and events were viewed from a different angle and with a different value. The Latin plays, therefore, must have borne, however faintly, that impress of individual personality which is one of the ultimate tests of originality in the true sense. But there are other plays which cannot fairly be classed with the *Equus Troianus*, because there seems to be no trace of any Greek tragedy with an even approximately similar plot; nor can they be explained by (1)



above, for they are related to the extant or known material in a manner which cannot be fortuitous, revealing as it does the working of certain definite principles in selecting and using the available legends. The *Hesiona* of Naevius is a case in point. The story is given by Hyginus (89 s. v. *Laomedon*), who relates the broken pledge of Laomedon, the wrath of Apollo, the sacrifice of the Trojan maidens, the rescue of Hesione by Heracles and Telamo, the second treachery of Laomedon, his defeat and death at the hands of Heracles and the marriage of Hesione and Telamo. The single line which survives does not enable us to determine how much was included by Naevius. We hear, however, of a Latin *Laomedon* (another play without an 'original') and this seems to make it probable that the *Hesiona* opened with the heroine chained to her rock and that the chief interest was found in her relations to Telamo. Thus presented, there is an obvious resemblance to the Andromeda legend; but the important point is that Hesione becomes the wife of Telamo and the mother of Teucer. Her story can thus be related to the body of legend surrounding Ajax, one of the chief of all the epic and tragic heroes, and I suggest that Roman tragedy shows a definite tendency to group minor personages (who do not figure in tragedies of their own in Greek) around the great figures. The story must, of course, possess dramatic features of its own to make it attractive, but, granting this, the 'principle of complement' seems to be clearly indicated. The *Tecmessa* of Julius Caesar Strabo is another 'Ajax cycle' play, and so is the *Telamo* of Ennius. It seems to have been entirely concerned with the hero as father, and there is no indication of his earlier adventures as Argonaut or in the hunt of the Calydonian boar. The whole action springs from the fate of Ajax, who is in a sense the hero of the play, controlling it from the outside just as Shakespeare's Julius Caesar does. The main spring is given in the line addressed by Telamo to his surviving son:

*Scibas natum ingenuum Aiacei cui tu obsidionem parus,*

for it is the father's unjust suspicion which causes the tragedy. Everything is dominated by the relation to Ajax, and our 'complementary' principle is clear. Its operation is further clear in another way, for the play may be called the 'first part' of the *Teucer* of Sophocles, the plot of which is indicated by Vell.

Pater. LI. So the *Periboea* (Pacuvius) is a kind of prologue to the story of Oedipus, doing for his foster-parents what the *Laius* of Aeschylus did for his actual father; so the *Medus* (Pacuvius) carries on the fortunes of Medea's family beyond the *Aegeus* of Euripides, or the *Medea Atheniensis* of Ennius. The *Teuthras* of Julius shows the principle applied in much the same way. Though his story was treated by Aeschylus, Agathon, Cleophon, Iophon and Moschion as well as by Euripides, Telephus is not one of the great heroes like Ajax, and he seems to have been regarded even in antiquity as more or less the special property of Euripides. His *Telephus* tells the last part of the tale of which the first appears in the *Auge*; but there is no record of his ever having treated the middle portion. That blank is filled by the Latin *Teuthras* (cf. Hyg. 100). The one surviving fragment *Flammeam per cethram late feruidam ferri facem* seems to refer to some portent at the moment when Auge is about to slay her own son (in Hyginus a *draco immani magnitudine* appears). The play thus rounds off and completes the story left unfinished by Euripides.

Another tendency, interesting in itself, and of very great importance for the true understanding of certain other plays is illustrated by the *Epinausimache* (Accius) which clearly goes beyond the Greek dramatic tradition altogether, and seeks its inspiration direct from Homer. 'H ἐπὶ ναυοὶ μάχη describes the subject-matter of Iliad XIII-XV and the burning of the Greek fleet by Hector. Ribbeck suggested that Accius' 'original' was "eine jüngere Uebersetzung des Aeschyleischen Werkes," but of that adaptation, if it was ever made, there is absolutely no trace, and its existence is a mere assumption. The Aeschylean plays in question formed a complete trilogy, the *Myrmidons*, *Nereids* and *Phrygians* and in each of them, so far as can be discovered from the fragments, Achilles himself was the protagonist. In the *Myrmidons* the embassy to Achilles, the expedition and death of Patroclus and the lament of Achilles seem to have been included, in the *Nereids*, the arming of Achilles and the death of Hector, and in the *Phrygians*, the ransoming of Hector's body. It thus appears that while the title of the *Epinausimache* recalls Homer, its subject falls into the interval between the *Myrmidons* and the *Nereids*, and, as stated above, there is absolutely no evidence that it was ever treated inde-

pendently in Greek tragedy. Accius was not, however, the first to introduce it into Latin: cf. *Schol. Gronov. ad Cic. Pro Rosc. Am.* XXXII, 90: *In Ennii haec fabula inducitur Achilles quo tempore propter Briseidem cum Graecis pugnare noluit, quo etiam tempore Hector classem eorum incendit e. q. s.* This indication goes beyond the *Myrmidons* but does not reach the *Nereids*; the latest incident mentioned by the scholiast is the flight of the wounded Odysseus and his attempts to explain away his cowardice. The emphatic *quo tempore . . . quo etiam tempore* suggests that the whole plot was included; hence it is highly unlikely that the *Achilles* can be a *contaminatio* of the *Myrmidons* and *Nereids* as is sometimes suggested. Still less can it be a *contaminatio* of the whole trilogy. The only fragment of Ennius now extant that could by any possibility be referred to the *Nereids*, the *Thetis Ili mater* quoted by Varro (L. L. VII, 87), seems by its metre to belong to the *Scenica*, but Varro gives no reference of any sort beyond the author's name. Of the other plays on Achilles, of which there were several, practically nothing beyond the titles is known; so we are in no sense justified in assuming that the second element of the *Achilles* of Ennius is due to *Contaminatio* as usually understood. The subject evidently attracted Ennius, for he has two plays of the name. In one (*Achilles Aristarchi*) he clearly used dramatic source; can we not see in the other an independent use of Homer? This possibility once admitted would go far towards solving some of the many problems arising out of the same poet's other plays. In the case of the *Andromache*, for example, the obvious assumption is that the 'original' is the *Andromache* of Euripides; but the heroine's character and the general circumstances are so different that most scholars agree that, whatever the 'original' may have been, it most certainly was not the Euripidean play of the same name. It has been suggested that Ennius used the *Trojan Women*, or that his play was a *contaminatio* of the *Trojan Women* and the *Hecuba*. Of the two, the latter theory is decidedly the better. It is impossible to suppose that the action of the *Andromache* takes place in the Troad, for the fragment *Rapit ex alto naues uelivolae* is a clear reference to the storm which overtook the Greek fleet on its way home, and the present *rapit* invalidates the suggestion that we are dealing with a prophecy by Minerva

or Cassandra. (In the passage from the *Troades* quoted by Ribbeck as parallels the future is used, v. 77 πέμψει, v. 80 δώσειν φησί, and the prophecy of Cassandra refers to Odysseus only, not to the Greek fleet as a whole.) But there is no trace of either the Polydorus or the Polyxena episode in the surviving fragments. The influence of the *Hecuba*, therefore, cannot be established; and, on the other hand the fragment *Nam neque irati neque blandi quicquam sincerum sonant* suggests an outburst against Spartan hypocrisy like that in Eur. *Andr.*, 445 ff. The question *Quid fit? Seditio turbetne an numeros augificat suos*, too, can quite well be referred to the conspiracy of Orestes to murder Neoptolemus. We seem, then, reduced to the time and place of the *Andromache* of Euripides; yet it is quite impossible to suppose that there can be any real connection between the two plays. The difficulty disappears if we suppose that Ennius derived his conception from Homer, that his tragedy is an amplification of the prophecy in the *Iliad*.

And while I bend beneath the load of life

They say—behold the mighty Hector's wife.

Such is his theme; and to elaborate it, he may well have taken the method later adopted by Racine, and made Astyanax survive the fall of Troy to fall with his mother into the hands of the jealous Hermione. The tradition that he did so survive was familiar in the Middle Ages, and he appears in the *Chroniques de Saint Denis* as the founder of the French monarchy. The same tradition is not altogether unknown in classical times (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*, I. 47 and Strabo XIII), and the mere fact that Accius wrote a tragedy entitled *Astyanax* suggests that the early dramatists knew the same form of the story. Homer himself does not describe the time or manner of the death of Astyanax, and there is no proof that his death has taken place before the *Andromache* of Ennius opens; the fragment *Hectoris ratum de muro iactarier* probably belongs to the *Hecuba*. Though the ordinary version appears in the latter play, there need be no difficulty in supposing that Ennius could adopt another form where it suited him. He had the example of Euripides, if nothing else, for the death of Polyxena takes place in the *Trojan Women* before the departure of the Greek fleet, in the *Hecuba* after that departure.

Moreover, the change in no way destroys but rather greatly intensifies the emotional value of Andromache's story, and, far from contradicting the Homeric account, it keeps alive the true Homeric tradition (which had been obscured by Euripides) of the ever faithful wife and widow of Hector. This tradition passes from Ennius to Vergil, from Vergil to Racine; the whole of the French poet's remarkable second preface to *Andromaque* deserves to be read in this connection. In particular, the passage beginning *C'est presque la seule chose que j'emprunte*, might almost have been written by Ennius.

Having illustrated the possibilities of direct Homeric influence, I conclude by suggesting that yet another general tendency, the 'Selective' as we may call it, can be detected. The *Iliona* of Pacuvius is an excellent illustration. The story as given by Hyginus (109) bears a close resemblance to certain parts of the *Hecuba* of Euripides, but the differences are interesting and suggestive. In Euripides, Polydorus, the brother of Iliona, is killed, in Pacuvius, owing to her substitution of one child for the other, it is her own son Deipylus. In Euripides, the blinding of Polymnestor is part of the revenge of Hecuba, in Pacuvius it is carried out by Polydorus and Iliona together. Iliona herself, the heroine of Pacuvius, does not appear in Euripides at all. But her introduction, and the part she plays, produce a finer and more tragic effect. The wife who slays her own husband who is himself the slayer of her son, awakens far deeper 'feelings of pity and terror' than the aged queen who takes a savage revenge upon her treacherous *hospes*. Pacuvius has thus, by confining himself to one half of Euripides' subject-matter, made a more artistic play; by submitting the material to this process of selection, he has made out of the worst constructed of extant Greek tragedies a whole which has real organic unity. It seems more than possible that the same thing was done in other cases; the *Hecuba* of Ennius, for example, may have omitted the Polydorus episode altogether, and dealt only with the fate of Polyzena and its effect upon her mother. The scantiness of our material makes all such conclusions uncertain, and the best of them can hardly be better than conjectures. But in spite of all, it is clear that the Roman tragedians were no mechanical 'imitators'; when

## REPORTS.

HERMES, LX (1925).

Reste frühhellenistischer Poetik im Pisonerbrieff des Horaz (1-13). K. Latte adds further evidence of Hellenistic influence on the *Ars Poetica*. In v. 146 the *Reditus Dicomedis* (i. e. Thebais together with the *Ἐπίγονοι*) is evidently regarded as Homeric, a view that antedates the Alexandrian criticism. Latte approves of Fitch's defense of the existence of this tradition (cf. *Class. Philol.* XVII (1922)). Further, Horace's remarks on the chorus and tibia and, especially, his directions for the satyr drama apply to the period of his source, Neoptolemus of Parium, not to the time of Augustus. The exemplification of Horace's advice can be detected in the fragments of Sositheus, which show an attempt to revive the *δράμα σατυρικόν* in the early Hellenistic period.

Herophilos bei Kallimachos (14-32). H. Oppermann shows from Galen, Celsus and others that to Herophilus is due the discovery that the eye-ball is enclosed by four membranes, and that this induced Callimachus in his hymn in *Dian.* 7. 53, to describe the eye of the Cyclopes as *σάκει ἴσα τετραβοείω*.

Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Arbeitsweise des Plautus (33-49). G. Jahn discusses scene II 4 of the *Trinummus*, and concludes that in the Greek original, the dialogue between Stasimus and Philto constituted a separate scene, as the combination with the *Lesbonicus*-Philto dialogue is awkward (cf. 527-8 and 562-8). Plautus may have had in mind a scene like that at the close of the *Eunuchus*. Lessing anticipated the above result in his "Schatz" (based on the *Trinummus*) by eliminating *Lelio* (= *Lesbonicus*) in *Aufzug 7*.

Zum "Pheidias-Papyrus" (50-58). W. Judeich prints with Robert's conjectures, the two fragments of this papyrus, which were published by Jules Nicole in the year 1910. Robert, reading *Να[κ[ο]πολείτη . Φειδία* in A 17, argued that this could not refer to the great sculptor (S. B. der Berl. Akad. 1914, 806 ff.). Judeich now, with the assistance of Jensen, conjectures *ἀ[κ[ρ]οπόλει*, and suggests as an approximation of the meaning of A 16-18: [*τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀ[κ[ρ]οπόλει τῇ[ς] Φειδίᾳ ἐπιταπτομένης . ὁ]μοιά φασιν Ἡλείοι περὶ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ὀλυμπίου Διός*]. This would lend support to Philochorus' scholium (Arist. Peace 605): *ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων*, which need not be taken in a literal sense. Judeich agrees with the account of Pheidias' last years by A. Frickenhaus (*Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.* XXVIII 1913, 342 ff.), according to which Pheidias was ac-

cused of theft at Athens 433/2, so that he began on the Zeus statue at Olympia at the earliest 432; then, a few years later, he was subjected to a similar accusation, was imprisoned and died there, probably, of sickness. In a Nachtrag Judeich dissents from H. Schrader's opinion (Phidias, Frankfurt a. M. 1924): that Pheidias was accused at Athens in 438/7, in agreement with Rosenberg (Jahrb. f. d. kl. Altertum XXXV 1915, 219 ff.).

Britomartis (59-65). R. Holland examines the legends of this divinity and her various epithets, and shows that the Oxyrhynch. pap. IV (1904) no. 661 has nothing to do with the Dictynna myth as Maass imagined (cf. A. J. P. 45, 287).

Eine unbekannte Topographie von Emporion (66-73). A. Schulten gives the history of this Phocaean colony, located on the northeast coast of Spain, and shows that Sallust's history, book III, fragment 6 (Maurenbr. ed.) must be included with other ancient topographies of this commercial port. A catapult has been reconstructed from a fragment found here (cf. Schramm, Die ant. Geschütze der Saalburg 1918, Kap. 4).

Untersuchungen zur Komposition und zu den Quellen von Tacitus' Annalen (74-93). F. A. Marx finds that the Annals follow a scheme of yearly events: 1, Activities of the emperor; a) matters touching the imperial family; b) foreign affairs, chiefly wars. 2, Activities of the senate, i. e. domestic affairs, and occasional wars in senatorial provinces. Deviations from this scheme are explained. The sources of the foreign wars were in the main literary, the *acta senatus* were directly used for the accounts of the senate. His results are presented in a table.

Stellvertreter der Praefesti Praetorio (94-103). A. Stein emends and interprets an inscription found in Ostia (Not. d. scavi 1923, 397-411), which honors: Manilio Rus[ticiano] praef(ecto) ann(onae) a(genti) v(ices) prae[f(ectorum) praet(orio)] em(inentissimorum) v(ironum) cet. A number of other cases of such substitutes is discussed. Subsequently (page 260) he reports that his identification of the above M. R. with the Manilius R. under Maxentius is mistaken, as a squeeze plainly shows MANLI; but he upholds his date. In an Anhang he discusses a Greek inscription found in Aquae Tauri (Not. d. scavi 1923), dedicated to the nymphs by Alcibiades, a freedman of Hadrian, whom he identifies as a countryman of Phlegon of Tralles. That a Greek from the Orient should show his nationality in Italy under Hadrian, the philhellene, is noteworthy.

Miscellen: H. Lamer shows that the general belief that Isidore (origin. XVIII 60-68) is describing the ludus latrunculorum with his account of the calculi ordinarii and vagi, is extremely

doubtful; which is true also of the assumption that XII scripta was a 'twelve-line' game. He regards the article on 'playing-board' games in Daremberg-Saglio III 994, as the best we have at present.—B. A. Müller (110-112) emends plausibly *Κιραῖος κόλπος*, in Stephanus p. 687, 2/3 M, to read *Κι<χ>ραῖος κ.*—C. Fensterbusch (112) holds that *σκηνή* in Pollux IV 123 cannot mean stage; it includes the *λογεῖον* in contrast with *ὀρχήστρα*.

Ovids Metamorphosen in doppelter Fassung II (113-143). H. Magnus examines a number of passages, where there is a choice of one of two versions of seemingly equal value, and shows that only one of these can be by Ovid (cf. A. J. P. 27, 345).

Eine umstrittene Wortstellung des Griechischen (144-173). H. Schöne justifies the hyperbaton in seven passages of Greek prose, which modern scholars have regarded as corruptions. They are cases where a proper or common noun divides attributive or appositional groups of words. Such cases are readily accepted in poetry; but in prose seem unnatural to modern feeling. However, examples taken from inscriptions place this usage beyond a doubt. Schöne classifies a large number of examples taken from Greek and Latin poetry and prose, to which he adds some English and German examples.

Xenophanesstudien (174-192). H. Fränkel shows the importance of Xenophanes as an historian. He was the first Greek to write contemporary history, namely his account in 2000 verses of the founding of Hyele (Elea) in Italy, on which probably Herod. 1, 163-67 is based. Fragment II 1-10 enumerates the six Olympic contests in the same order as they appear six or eight centuries later in Phlegon and the Oxyrynchus list. In verse 10, *εἴτε καὶ* should be translated "auch wenn" (cf. Od. θ 139), which represents the sixth contest, not as the most distinguished (Diels); but as the least worthy; the foot race is expressly stated to be the most honored in v. 17. Strictly, only his doctrine of the deity and his criticism of knowledge entitles him to be classified as a philosopher. He was a practical realist, who rejected the inventions of early ages. He was the first Greek to express clearly the idea of progress. Fränkel accepts the reading *ἴδεν* in fragm. 34 (Diels, *γέγερ'*), and interprets *εἰδώς* as the perfect. part. of *ἴδεν*, and interprets the passage to show that instead of scepticism X. expressed here his belief that knowledge is based solely on experience. Parmenides on the contrary based his philosophy on the certainty of absolute being.

Pro Caelio (193-258). R. Heinze gives a minute analysis of this difficult speech in order to justify the course of the argumentation, which often appears careless. The unity of the speech consists in the refutation of the charges of immorality,



which was difficult, as he had to draw a line between venial voluptates and libidines. He distinguishes between carefully composed and improvised passages, differing from Norden (Ber. d. Berl. Akadem. 1913 p. 12 ff.: *Zur Komposition der Caeliana*); but he agrees with Norden in regarding the oratio pro Caelio as closer to the actio than any other of Cicero's judicial speeches.

Miscellen: P. Maas (259) amends five verses of Callimachus.—A. Körte (259-260) points out that in the Berl. papyrus 13045, the marginal numerals show that the actual lines, consisting mostly of 11-12 syllables, were counted, which overthrows K. Ohly's generalization that everywhere stichometric computation was based on a normal hexameter (cf. *Archiv. f. Papyrusforschung* VII 1924, 190 ff.).

Kritische Beiträge zu Caesar (261-279). R. Sydow emends a number of passages in the b. Gallicum and b. civile, following largely the principle of supplying words; as words missing in class  $\alpha$  are frequently supplied by class  $\beta$ ; and vice versa.

Lesefrüchte (p. 280-316). U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf continues his series of miscellanies with numbers CXCH-CCII. He begins with publishing an addition to Philoponus' comment on Arist. *Analyt.* II 77 b., which, combined with other evidence, brings to light an epic poem by Peisander of Camirus, entitled *Κύκλος*. It dealt with the Trojan cycle, and according to Philoponus displaced τὰ παίγματα ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις ἀναγεγραμμένα. Vergil's *Aen.* II depends on it (cf. Macrobius V 2, 4 and Servius II 211, where read Peisandrus for Thessandrus). This poem must have been the source of Proclus' *μονόβιβλος περὶ κύκλου ἐπικού*. CXCI gives a valuable exposition of Euripides' *Andromache*. CXCV justifies the insertion by Thucydides of Alcibiades' speech in VI 89-92. CXCVI discusses and emends E. Diehl's edition of Bergk's *Anth. lyrica* II p. 190 etc. CXCVII likewise treats Diehl's *carm. popul.* 42 II p. 205. CXCVII (sic) deals with passages in Plutarch's *Moralia*. CXCVIII sifts and characterizes the letters of Apollonius of Tyana and extracts a biography of this strange man from those that may be accepted as genuine. CXCVIII (sic) discusses Praxagoras and his family, mentioned in Photius *bibl.*, codex (A) 62. CIC emends the sailor's song in Oxyrh. pap. 1883. CC gives an inscription, which he copied in the year 1873. CCI corrects a statement he made in *Hermes* 59, 268, and his treatment of Apollonius Rhodius, where he had overlooked Fr. 22 of Pherecydes, which shows that Apol. used Pherecydes as a source. CCII suggests the reading *co-smis* in the Duenos inscription (8743, Dessau).

Der Hiatus bei Terenz (317-337). A. Klotz shows that there

are some 40 examples of hiatus in Terence, not counting the cases where a change of persons takes place.

Zu den Mysterien von Andania (338-347). L. Ziehen discusses the Argive oracle inscription (BCH XXXIII 175; Dittenb. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 735) and the Mystery inscription of Andania (Dittenb. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 736), showing that Pasquali (Atti della R. Acad. d. Sc. di Torino vol. 43) has been of service for a better understanding of the passages dealing with the priesthood; but his view that c. 100 B. C. the mystery rites of the Karneia were combined with those of Andania is without support.

Auctoritas (348-366). R. Heinze traces the development of the meaning of auctoritas, which culminated in designating the influence of a personality that was regarded as fitted by experience, knowledge and a sense of responsibility to give advice. The Roman people were saturated with the feeling for auctoritas; on this rested the system of their republican constitution. Such auctoritas was recognized in the principes civitatis, and it is this influence of personality that Augustus claimed in chapter 34 of his res gestae: Post id tem[pus auctoritate praestiti omnibus (A. J. P. 47 p. 19). The respect for auctoritas is indeed a human characteristic; but it was of especial significance in the private and public life of the Romans. The Greeks did not develop such a term, although the occasional use of ἀξίωμα comes near to it. It is worth considering whether this respect for auctoritas checked the desire for independent scientific investigation, and it would be interesting to investigate to what extent it exerted its influence on the Latin church fathers.

Miscellen: G. Leue (367-8) thinks he has found two more acrostics in the periegesis of Dionysius (vv. 135-7 and 254-259), which should be combined with those he had previously discovered in vv. 109-134, and 513-532 (Philol. 42, 175 ff.) so as to read: Ἐπη Διονυσίου τῶν ἐντὸς Φάρου, οἷς τεχνοὶ θεὸς Ἑρμῆς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ, which he translates "Dichtung des Dionysios, eines der innerhalb Pharos Wohnenden, zu deren Bestem Gott Hermes unter Hadrian unterrichtet." However, the editors, in a note, doubt the correctness of his interpretation.—J. Hasebroek (369-371) says that the identification of persons in Suet. Aug. 65, 3, by means of aetas, statura, color and cicatrices agrees exactly with the abbreviated Egyptian form, which appears in the first century A. D. It is the first direct example of a stereotyped form of identification outside of Egypt, where the description is usually fuller; but such schemes of identification were not peculiar to Egypt (cf. Papyrusinstitut Heidelberg, Schrift 3, 1921).—F. Jacoby (371-2) shows that Arcesilaus II was not put to death by a brother named Learchus, as Herodotus (IV 160) states; but at Cyrene by Laarchus a φίλος πονηρός, who usurped

the throne, according to the substantially correct account of Eryxo's revenge in Plut. mul. virt. p. 260 E.—F. Heichelheim (372) identifies in a parchment fragm. of the IV century A. D. (Pubbl. Soc. It. VII 762) traces of Isocrates Panegyri., which with Ox. 844 and 1096, makes the third text of this oration discovered at Oxyrhynchus.

Älteste Spuren der Astrologie bei den Griechen (373-395). W. Capelle says a new stage in the question of the early influence of the Orient on Greek thought has been introduced by W. Jäger's "Aristoteles" p. 133 ff., and A. Götze's "Persische Weisheit in griechischem Gewand, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Mikrokosmosidee" (Zeitschrift f. Indologie u. Iranistik Bd. II [1923]). But recent attempts to find early traces of Babylonian astrology in the Hippocratic writings have failed to overthrow the assertion of Burnet: The earliest reference to astrology among the Greeks appears to be Plato Timaeus 40 c. 9 (Early Gk. Phil.<sup>3</sup> 1920, p. 24, 1), unless we except a curious identity of the triad *ἥλιος, φωσφόρος, σελήνη* in Democritus' *περὶ τάξεως ἀστέρων* (Fr. d. Vorsokr. 55 A 86) with the Babylonian Trinity Sin-Shamash-Ištar, which was suggested by Kugler. Capelle proceeds to show the influence of Babylonian astrology in Hippokr. *περὶ διαίτης*, and discusses at length the influence of Ktesias' histories on Plato and others. It was reserved for the Stoa, after the time of Alexander, to spread the faith in astrology among the Greeks, especially the Syrian Poseidonius.

Zu den Glossen des Placidus (396-414). W. A. Baehrens concludes from a study of the brief Placidus glosses, dating probably from the V century, that they are mainly dependent on the familiar makers of excerpts and epitomes like Servius, Nonius and, especially, Festus. Hence, for the partial restoration of Festus, Paulus may be supplemented by Placidus.

Zum Texte römischer Juristen (415-443). Ed. Fraenkel urges young philologists to take up the study of the Digesta, the texts of which are sadly in need of revision. He illustrates this need by emending nineteen passages, a minute contribution. Familiarity with the Roman legal terminology serves to emend passages in Cicero: Read *isses* for *misisses* in Pro Quinctio 83, likewise *isse* in 88; in Pro Caecina 74, *mina* is corrupt, read with A. C. Clark: *quae nunc tua iure mancipi sint*; or, perhaps, *quae <in fa>milia tua etc.*; and in l. c. 75 for *privatae rei vestrae*, read *privata* (i. e. *patrimonia*). Finally omit *vitium* in XII Tables (l. 3 Schoell), as a careful reading of Gellius XX, 1, 24, the source of this fragment, shows that *escit* means, 'exists.'

Akademische Verhandlungen über die Lustlehre (444-481). R. Philippson weaves an interesting account of oral and literary

discussions on the doctrine of Pleasure out of Arist. Nic. Eth. and Plato's Philebus. He holds that the imperfect tenses *ἔλυνε* (Nic. Eth. 1153 b 5) and *ἔπειτα* (l. c. 1172 b 9 and 18) point to an oral debate, whereas present tenses l. c. are evidence of literary sources. Thus he finds that Eudoxus, during his second stay in Athens, between 367-361 B. C., debated with Speusippus *περὶ ἡδονῆς*, in the presence of Plato and others, including Aristotle, who, deeply impressed by the noble character of Eudoxus, refers to him forty years later, as an advocate of *ἡδονή*, rather than to Aristippus. Speusippus had already before that debate, opposed the hedonistic theory in his "Aristippus," to which Plato refers in *Republ.* bk. 9 ch. 9. Later a second debate on this subject took place in the Academy, of which Plato gives an account in his *Philebus*, in which he aims his polemic at Aristippus more than at Eudoxus, who was still living and was therefore shielded by Plato, who admired him. That Aristotle's 'Gedankenwelt' was a product of the Academy, where natural science also received attention, is emphasized. Philippson adds a discussion showing that Eudoxus, under the influence of Zoroaster, believed in God; but rejected the popular divinities. His book on the subject created a stir among the Epicureans.

Miscellen: H. Willrich (482-489) interprets the Claudius letter, which H. Idris Bell published under the title "Jews and Christians in Egypt" (London 1924), and shows that it merely concerned a frequently occurring dispute between orthodox and Hellenized Jews, an antagonism that he illustrates with passages from Josephus and the books of the Maccabees. The Alexandrian embassy consisted of twelve, not eleven (Bell), members, two of whom were friends of the Emperor.—H. Fränkel (489-492) translates *Apol. Argon.* 1, 934-5: *διάνδιχα . . . δίνῃ πορφύροντα δύνυσαν Ἑλλάσποντον*, "Auseinander wallte im Wirbel der Hellespont den sie durcheilten"; and interprets l. c. 2, 796-8, where he reads *Τυνδαρίδην . . . ἔπεινες*, following the Laurentianus, and takes *εἰ* in the sense of *ἐμμαντόν*.—P. Maas (492-3) assigns *οὐδὲν μέλει ἔμοιγε* in Plato's *Menon* 99 D to Anytus on MS authority. Wilamowitz had athetized them as unworthy of Socrates. In *Gorgias* 526 C he avoids an objectionable asyndeton, not by defending the conjectural *δέ*, but by placing a comma after *Αἰακός*. Both Heinlörz and Wilamowitz resorted to athetizing.—W. Morel (493-4) emends *foetus* to *fletus* in v. 393 of the *Consolatio ad Liviam* (vol. II of Vollmer's *Poet. Lat. Minores*).

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## REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE, XLIX (1925), 1 and 2.

Pp. 5-20. Bernard Haussoullier, Inscriptions de Didymes. Comptes de la construction du Didymeion. An expense account (of which the text has been hitherto unedited) of the construction of the Didymeion. It occurs on a fragment of white marble discovered in 1896 in a wall running from the temple. The author gives a commentary, a summary of the expense account, an account of the labor, the prodomos, the labyrinths, the triple-door, the workmen's sheds and the phosphorion. The article should be read in connection with one by the same author in the same journal for 1919.

Pp. 21-27. Victor Coulon, De quelques passages altérés de l'*Apologie* et des *Florides* d'Apulée. In Florida XII in the description of the parrot, the writer rejects the conjecture of Helm, *nam* <corvum> *quidem*, but approves his correction of the manuscript *idē conate* and would read *ut vocem si audias, hominem putes: nam quidem* <corvinam> *si audias, id est crocitate, non loqui*. In Apology 96 he thinks the original reading was *quid posses* <tu> *vel* <al> *ius quis in isto negotio accusare?* In Florida XVI, in the passage beginning *Postridie igitur*, he selects from the six words suggested by Van der Vliet to replace *queri*, the word *garrire*, explaining its change by the neighboring word, *queruntur*. In Florida XVII he approves the correction of M. Vallette: *quo magis celebrari debet frequenti usurpatu*. In Apology XVIII he reads *adversum divitias possessu et habitu secura*.

Pp. 28-54. Th. Walek, La politique romaine en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénistique au III<sup>e</sup> siècle. This article is an exposition of the political policy of Rome, chiefly as illustrated by the diplomatic and military moves in the Illyrian and Carthaginian wars. It is diametrically opposed to the book of M. Holleaux, "Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques au III<sup>e</sup> siècle," according to which, says M. Walek, the struggle in Illyria arose unexpectedly through the violence of the Illyrians and the acts of their queen, and was thrust on the Romans against their will and desire. M. Walek's belief is that "it is generally men and not circumstances that make history"; that the real marvel of the art of Roman statesmanship was their ability to wield a consummate imperial policy without appearing to do so; that the Illyrian expedition was an aggressive move of Roman expansion east of the Adriatic and imperialistic in the strictest sense of the word; that one of its immediate effects was the treaty of friendship with Athens, which greatly reinforced the standing of Rome in the Hellenistic world from a moral point of view. In this light the article is clear, consistent and convincing.

Pp. 55-56. A. Ernout, Sur une glose corrompue du mot *Manes* [Thesaurus Glossarum emendatarum]. M. Ernout sees no reason to suspect the reading *rarus* and correcting *habere* to *haberi* reads: *Manes dii mortuorum haberi quia manus* (transliteration of *μανός*) *id est rarus*.

Pp. 57-59. A. Ernout, Salluste, *Histoires* IV, 40. In discussing this fragment M. Ernout thinks that the phrase *ad menstrua soluenda* should be interpreted in the light of Lucretius VI 794-796 rather than as hitherto from Plutarch's rendering *προθυομένων* (Crassus 11).

Pp. 60-83. Ch. Dubois, L'olivier et l'huile d'olive dans l'ancienne Égypte. This is a portion of a larger work now in preparation treating the subject throughout antiquity. Noting that the olive is not indigenous to Egypt he discusses under the epoch of the Pharaohs other oleaginous plants; the introduction and cultivation of the olive under the Ramessides; the Egyptian names for the tree and the oil; olive crowns; the olive trees of the Theban district; trade in foreign olive oil. Under the epoch of the Ptolemies are discussed the bringing under cultivation of the Fayoum; the exclusion of olive-oil from the Ptolemaic monopoly; olive-oil culture under the Ptolemies; oil production in the province of Fayoum; olive-groves; the introduction into Egypt of foreign olive-oils; their regulation. The paper is a contribution to the agricultural and economic history of the ancient world and makes one look forward to M. Dubois' complete work of which this is an instalment.

Pp. 84-92. Bulletin bibliographique.

Pp. i-iv. Émile Chatelain, Louis Havet. A brief and impressive tribute to the life and work of a "latiniste complet," whose death is a very real loss to scholarship.

Pp. 93-100. A. Guillemin, Quelques remarques sur la critique du texte de Pline le Jeune. An instructive study of certain passages in the first five books and of two families of MSS, one represented by M and V, and the other by B and F; the question being whether the intrinsic value of certain rejected readings may not justify their acceptance, since the respective merits of the two classes of MSS have not been settled. As an example let us cite the discussion of III, 15, 3: The text of Keil, Merrill and Kukula reads: *Videor autem iam nunc posse rescribere esse opus pulchrum nec supprimendum, quantum aestimare licuit ex iis quae me praesente recitasti*. The variant (M, V) *est iam placuit* seems to Melle. Guillemin to justify reading: *Videor etc. . . . quantum aestimare licuit, et iam placuit ex iis quae me praesente recitasti*; the similarity of *licuit* to *-lacuit* accounting for the error. The author discusses eight other pas-

sages, her intention being to revive critical interest in certain neglected variants that seem worthy of consideration.

Pp. 101-117. N. Deratani, *De rhetorum Romanorum declamationibus. I. De minorum declamationum auctore.* The author brings forward certain new arguments to confirm the opinion of Ritter and Leo that it is near the truth to say that the *Minores Declamationes* which bear the name of Quintilian are the work of that rhetorician. An examination of the vocabulary and of other *signa sermonis* does not hinder assigning them to the time of Quintilian's work, and a comparison of certain passages points to unity of authorship. Neither is it to be wondered at if at times the treatment and manner of speech of the *Institutio* differ from those of the *Declamationes*. The author thinks the arguments and comparisons adduced resolve the Quintilianic character of the *Declamationes*. Finally he refutes arguments against the authorship of Quintilian, and as Quintilian has nowhere signified that he wrote or published the *Declamationes*, M. Deratani believes that they were given out not by Quintilian himself but by his pupils and more likely for private than public use, and that the pupils corrupted the style of the master, confused the order of the exercises, and rashly omitted some thoughts and added others.

Pp. 118-142. Th. Walek, *La politique romaine en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénistique au III<sup>e</sup> siècle.* A continuation and conclusion of the preceding article under the same title. M. Walek believes that the ancient tradition of the policy of Rome in Greece and the Hellenistic East is worthy of credit. The policy dates from the war with Pyrrhus. The cultural conquest of the East by Greece roused the Romans to enter this world and play therein a part worthy of the political and military power of Rome. The date 200 B. C. when their fears of Carthage and the Gauls had ceased, marked the epoch of the execution of their imperial policy, which dates from 228 at the latest. The second Macedonian war was the decisive move and the political method is summed up in the classic formula: *divide et impera*.

P. 142. L. Clédat, *Étymologies latines.* M. Clédat discusses *renidere* and *mea refert* or *interest*.

Pp. 143-152. P. d'Hérouville, *Un chapitre de zootechnie virgilienne. Les Bovidés.* An interesting study of the breeding of cattle in Italy at the time of Vergil and of the objects for which they were bred, whether for beef, milk or labor. While the author does not find the poet infallible in certain matters, he suggests that he would have been less charming had he been more didactic.

Pp. 153-183. Albert Severyns, *L'Éthiopide* d'Arctinos et la question du Cycle épique. An interesting discussion of a much discussed question. It is divided into three parts: I. The unity of the Aithiopis; II. The Aithiopis in the cycle; III. An essay on the formation of the Epic cycle. First reviewing a series of documents more ancient than Proclus (the scholiast on Homer and the Homeric vase) apropos of the Amazon of Thrace and another series (Polygnotus, the vase of Amasis, Vergil, Apollodorus) connecting Penthesilea with Memnon, and still other archaeological evidence presenting an amalgamation of the two stories, the author concludes that a single poet, whom tradition named Arctinos, blended the two stories of Penthesilea and Memnon in a single poem of which Achilles was the hero. The second discussion would seem to show that the Aithiopis reveals a profound and intended unity; that it follows on the Iliad and that it is followed by the Little Iliad. The third question is treated in the light of comparative literature and of the mediæval epics and on the theory that the desire of the public induced poets to complete basic epics by poems relating prior and subsequent events. He considers the Epic cycle as a reunion of three gestes—the Mythic, the Theban, the Trojan—shows the growth of each, and finally deals with the destiny of the cycle so constituted.

P. 183. Bohumil Ryba, Le Latin *maleactio* et son origine au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. The author gives the MS (Parisinus 1661) reading as *malectionis*, corrected to *malédictionis* by the editor of the editio princeps.

Pp. 184-194. Bulletin bibliographique.

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## REVIEWS

A Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire. By M. ROSTOVTZEFF. New York, *Oxford University Press*, American Branch, 1926. xxv + 695 pp. \$15.

ROSTOVTZEFF's new book is a masterpiece. It is safe to say that no single volume dealing with the Roman Empire exists that is at the same time so full of stimulating suggestiveness, so packed with important details, so penetrating in its interpretations, so original, and so scholarly as this. One has but to glance at its immense cargoes of erudite notes to see why Mommsen broke off his history where he did, and why no one has attempted to complete his work. The material is overwhelming, but ROSTOVTZEFF has gone through it, mastered it, and arranged a very large part of it in convenient packages. What can we do but express our very deep gratitude?

It is difficult to point out the best in a volume so excellent, but I wish especially to call attention to the hundred and fifty pages of notes which will become the student's granary for many a day; the sixty plates of illustrations, many of them culled from obscure and uncatalogued museums and all interpreted with astonishing facility; Chapters VI and VII which digest hundreds of reports of excavations in the Roman provinces; the portion of Chapter X which shows how the anarchy of the third century created the conditions out of which serfdom grew, and finally that portion of Chapter XI which deals with the social conditions of Egypt.

The book has a thesis; so had Gibbon's, Grote's, and Mommsen's great works. Constructive minds seldom have patience enough with the haphazard waywardness of history to resist the temptation of making a plot. In ROSTOVTZEFF, as in the other historians that I have mentioned, we shall have to be on our guard against the dramatist. Fortunately the book gives more than enough without the fable, and ROSTOVTZEFF is candid about his thesis. He has stated his point of view time and again in the later chapters so as to make it familiar—in fact we knew from previous articles what it was—and in his preface he has finally condensed his main results. To put it with a brevity that does scant justice to his well argued presentation, he endeavors to convince us that after the emperors from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius had by an active policy of urbanizing built up a state based upon the city bourgeoisie of the whole empire, a sharp antagonism arose between the oppressed peasantry of the country and the prosperous bourgeoisie of the cities which expressed itself in the anarchy of the third century. And it was

the havoc wrought by this antagonism that caused Rome's downfall.

When this theory was published in the *Murée Beige* three years ago it startled many of us. It seemed to us that the natural processes of urbanization were not sufficiently recognized; that conscious policy was too frequently posited; that the Italian countryfolk were dressed to resemble Russian peasants recently lifted out of serfdom, and that the anarchy of the third century as pictured by ROSTOVITZEFF was but a projection into the past of the Soviet Revolution of 1917. But as ROSTOVITZEFF has here restated his hypothesis at fuller length, and with additional documents, it is more nearly plausible, and though we still feel that the main ictus is on the wrong syllable, we must admit that he has offered a theory which will find a permanent, if not a very prominent, place in our histories. The chief objection to the book is in fact this insistence upon a single factor in a very intricate problem, and it does not help his cause that at the end he too brusquely dismisses his predecessors as having failed. The contributions of Liebig, Beloch, Westermann, Seeck, Heitland and others are and should be recognized as of lasting value. ROSTOVITZEFF has really not displaced these: he has contributed his idea to the sum of the others.

As the title implies, the book is more of a social than an economic history, and though it is vulnerable in its social theory, its chief value lies in its mass of social data. As an economic history it passes muster less readily. New interpretations are here offered chiefly in dealing with the illustrative material. He draws very heavily, for instance, upon the mosaic representations of country houses in Africa, but I fear that few scholars will accept these as realistic documents, and even if they do the harvest of significant facts to be acquired from them proves upon examination to be very meagre. A systematic treatment of agriculture, industry, commerce, finance, labor and similar topics for the Empire the author does not attempt to give. His brief comments upon the facts of the debased currency are of the kind one expected fifty years ago. One has a feeling that the author has never come into actual contact with agriculture, or with industry, and that he is rather helpless when confronted by them. Be that as it may, he lets himself be misled at times by futile hypotheses<sup>1</sup> propounded by some of those impractical pundits whom one encounters especially in continental libraries.

<sup>1</sup> For instance he resurrects (p. 21) Mahaffy's guess that Carthage was destroyed in the interest of Roman fruit growers, but we have learned since Mahaffy wrote that in 201 Carthage was left a very small strip of arable land, not enough to support the city, and that the real fruit-growing Punic cities were left intact. He also (p. 22) reverts to the old theory that Rome during the republic prohibited vine-culture in Africa, Sicily, Spain, and Gaul, relying for evidence on Marseilles'

Thus, for example, he accepts in part the quaint suggestion of Pais that the senate limited gold-mining in Italy in order to save agricultural land and labor, he insists that the question of the deterioration of the soil is negligible,<sup>2</sup> he still believes that the *χώρα βασιλική* became *ager publicus* in Asia, and he lends his support to the theory that in Egypt the state imposed heavier taxes on unflooded than on flooded land in order to force the indolent peasants to work the harder for success! Egypt in fact, the most un-Roman of all lands, looms too large, as it generally has in ROSTOVITZEFF's studies on Rome, and general inferences are too frequently drawn from Ptolemaic institutions and from the wails of the pitiful fellahin. Here and there the result suggests the conclusions that some future historian might draw if he were to reconstruct present-day American conditions from the letters of the negro laborers in Porto Rico. Surely if ROSTOVITZEFF had approached the Empire from a study of Republican Italy instead of through Hellenistic Asia and Egypt we should have had a sounder interpretation. But here as elsewhere this book itself will provide the critic with the facts with which he will be able to correct such aberrations as may exist.

After all is said to remind the reader that even this book betrays a few blind spots and excessive faith in fascinating ratiocination, we must return to the statement that it is a work of unusual erudition, originality and power. Classical scholarship the world over owes a very great debt of gratitude to Professor ROSTOVITZEFF.

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Catullus, edidit E. T. MERRILL. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1923.  
viii + 92 pp.

Merrill's edition of Catullus in the Teubner text follows the MSS. even more faithfully than Kroll's (see p. 200), though he takes no notice of the Republican orthography which has survived here and there. Four times only (29, 20; 55, 9; 62, 63; 64, 16) have I found him making use of *scripsi*, and one may perhaps

treaty with her Alpine neighbors, a treaty underwritten by Rome. The fact that Marseilles received the hostages after that war proves that she made the treaty (Pol. 33, 11; the dramatic date of Cic. *De Rep.* III is 129 B. C.). There is no evidence anywhere that Rome imposed monopolies during the republic and scores of instances to the contrary.

<sup>2</sup> *Passim*. He frequently cites horticulture as proof that the soil was not exhausted, but it is precisely when the surface loam is exhausted by annual crops or eroded that a change to deep-rooted plants may become necessary. However, exhaustion is at worst a relative term. There are many ways of restoring exhausted land.

venture to suppose that these conjectures will in the next edition be dropped down to the apparatus where some other new suggestions appear (29, 23; 63, 77; 68, 157). Certainly *illa* (*ecquanam alia?*) 64, 16, assumes rather more punctuation than a Roman had at his ready disposal, and *tertia patri pars*, 62, 63, would be more plausible in Lucilius than in Catullus. In 49 he throws the scale to the advantage of Cicero by reading *omniums* with *R*—which must have required courage.

The apparatus is in fact of special value because for the first time it reports *R*'s readings with some fullness, yet even here we may not expect completeness and entire accuracy. For instance, the marginal reading of *R* at 3, 16 (*bellus*) and 5, 13 (*tantum*) are certainly not by *R*<sup>2</sup>, and *tristes* was the original reading of *R* at 64, 126. There are several such errors. It is equally regrettable that exigencies of space necessitated at the last moment a hasty reworking of the apparatus. There are many places like the difficult line 64, 330 where the important readings are not given. The editor leaves the inference in this instance that *flexanimo* is well vouch'd for, while in point of fact the MSS. give *flexo animo*, and we do not even know whether the compounded word actually existed in Latin. On the other hand old conjectures that have been superseded by convincing ones are sometimes recorded. After Housman had satisfactorily restored 64, 324 it merely confuses the judgment to repeat a number of feeble conjectures from old editions. Similarly since Mr. Merrill has decided that *C*, *G*, and *R* should alone be considered as authoritative, it seems to me inconsistent to report old conjectures based upon MSS. no longer in use. For instance, in l. 9 the MS. *D* reads *quidem*, which Hand, Bergk and others tried to save only because of a mistaken respect for *D*. Now that *D* has been eliminated, the readings based upon *D* ought not to have space in a well-considered apparatus.

There will also be some objection to various readings that Merrill has chosen for his text. In 2, 13 he accepts *negatam*, supporting it with a reference to Claud. *Fesc. de nupt. Hon.* 1, 38, which is not apposite. In 64, 14; 75; 129; 227 and elsewhere he has departed from the text without compulsion or profit. But these are largely matters of taste. After all is said the text is probably nearer that which Catullus wrote than any other now in use, and the apparatus, though not perfect, is, because of its reports of *R*, the one which Catullan scholars must use.

TENNEY FRANK.

*Culex. Sources and their Bearing on the Problem of Authorship.* By D. L. DREW, M. A. Oxford, *Basil Blackwell*, 1925. 107 pp. 6 sh. net.

Professor Drew has attacked the question of authorship armed with a new method. Observing that most of the sources of *Culex*—especially certain passages in Lucretius, Catullus, Theocritus, and Homer—are also used by Vergil, he examines the derivative passages in both with a view to discovering their relative closeness to the original. He finds not only that *Culex* is constantly more faithful to the original but that in many instances there is an intimate connection between *Culex* and Vergil apart from their common source. If these findings were established beyond a shadow of doubt, it would of course prove *Culex* an early work of Vergil. Indeed the author's discussion of *Culex* 58-97 comes very near being convincing; unfortunately, the passage deals with commonplaces of rural description in the treatment of which—given the limited vocabulary of the subject and the conventional imagery—phrases will inevitably repeat themselves. Though not wholly convinced, we may be grateful for the keen observations, the meticulous sifting of the evidence, the honest restraint of his close reasoning, and the charm with which he writes on a wearisome theme. This study has at least added some points to a case that must ultimately rest upon cumulative evidence.

While Mr. Drew has apparently not pointed out any sources not already suggested by Leo, Plérent, Skutsch, Miss Jackson, Dinkelmeyer and others—one looks in vain for references—he offers a superabundance; but he fairly warns the reader that he has had to include doubtful instances for the sake of completeness. The reader will also feel that he has trusted his retentive auricular memory too much. Source-hunters mull over their passages so incessantly that every phrase stands out in black letters, whereas Vergil's method was rather to skim passages for images to resketch with his own pencil. Finally, one may question some of the putative parallels on more objective ground. If *Culex* 42 ff. was written by the youthful Vergil it can hardly be reminiscent of Varro *R. R.* which was written in 37 B. C.; it is hazardous to assume imitation between Lucretius II and Catullus LXIV, since, on the one hand, Lucretius II was doubtless written before the epyllion of Catullus, and on the other it was not available to readers till after the epyllion was complete; a simple feeling of propriety would presumably keep the author of *Culex* from addressing Octavian by a phrase—*sante puer*—which Catullus had used of Cupid, if the phrase was at all rare: it could hardly have been a reminiscence of that

one passage; and finally, in discussing the relationship between Georgics II 458 ff. (O fortunatos . . .) and Culex 58 ff. (O bona pastoris . . .) one can hardly leave out of account the intermediary,<sup>1</sup> Horace Epode II (Beatus ille . . .).

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Die Moselgedichte des Decimus Magnus Ausonius und des Venantius Fortunatus. Zum dritten Male herausgegeben und erklärt von CARL HOSIUS. Mit einer Karte und Abbildungen. Marburg I. H.; N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926. Pp. 126. 3 M.

This third edition of an excellent little book is really an anastatic reproduction of the second edition. It adds an appendix of four or five pages, which offers some additional verbal parallels, and gives references to the recent 'literature' on the subject. It gives a good map which shows the course of the Mosel from Metz to Koblenz. And it illustrates the 'tectonicas formas' of line 299 by a ground-plan of the Roman villa at Nennig.

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*Die griechischen Dialekte*, von FRIEDRICH BECHTEL. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1921-1924. I, Der Lesbische, Thessalische, Böotische, Arkadische und Kyprische Dialekt. II, Die Westgriechischen Dialekte. III, Der Ionische Dialekt.

Ahrens' famous work, *De Graecae linguae dialectis*, published more than eighty years ago, was remarkable for its penetrating vision in the use of material which was insignificant compared to what has since come to light. Since then there have been countless dissertations and monographs on special dialects, and three large scale works on the dialects have been started, but remained torsos, those of Meister, Hoffmann, and Smyth. The manuals of Thumb and the present reviewer in 1910 supplied the essential facts in condensed form, with necessary omission of much detail in facts and in discussion.

<sup>1</sup> See *Class. Phil.* 1920, pp. 24 and 32.

It fell to BECHTEL in the last decade of his life to start and bring to completion a comprehensive and detailed treatment of all the Greek dialects, in three volumes running to a total of 1781 pages. It is the magnum opus of a scholar who, though known also in other linguistic fields, has devoted himself above all to the study of the Greek dialects and is one of those most intimately conversant with the material. It goes without saying that the work becomes an indispensable part of reference equipment in this field. One finds the largest array of facts, including some that have been dragged from obscurity and for the first time displayed in their proper relation. The author's opinions on various problems are by no means as final as their usual form of expression, but they must receive the respectful attention of all specialists, whether they agree or oppose. But it is superfluous to enlarge on the great value of such an exhaustive work by one of the most competent scholars. It is more important here to point out some features which should be realized by those less familiar with the special field, who might assume that the work must be complete in its facts, representative in its views, and a final authority.

To begin with a personal matter. The author, as is well known (cf. also *Phil. Week.* 1924, 780), has always had exceptionally strong predilections and antipathies in his attitude to the work of other scholars. I do not refer to the fact that he is only rarely cognizant of views that are not expressed or cited in German works, and has in this way on occasion overlooked the anticipation of an interpretation advanced by him as new. Among German scholars, some he quotes with noticeable frequency, others and some of the most competent in the field he ignores or refers to with a vicious jibe, as in the case of Solmsen and Thumb. It is perhaps not surprising that he has refrained from citing and very likely from consulting either Thumb's *Handbuch* or my *Introduction*. Yet even from such brief treatises he might have profited, if only to be reminded of some familiar and important feature which he has forgotten to mention.

The system of arrangement, the separate treatment of twenty-eight dialects, has a certain advantage while one is concerned with a particular dialect, but it has serious drawbacks. It makes it difficult to survey the distribution of any given phenomenon, and it involves endless repetition and cross references. For example, instead of saying once for all that *πᾶτος* = Att. *πῶτος* is the form of all West Greek dialects and Boeotian, the author cites it again and again in the list of contractions for the separate dialects (and, as it happens in this case, quite wrongly).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Just as *\*πρωφατος*, *\*πρωφςτος* have disappeared from the handbooks,

I would almost hazard the assertion that under a different arrangement and with a less expansive treatment of certain matters like vowel-contraction (where the elaborate classification according to the consonant lost is often of more theoretical than practical importance), the essential contents of the 1781 pages could be put in a single volume of say 500 pages. In this country scholars are forced by circumstances to practice a condensation which is sometimes extreme and is generally painful to themselves. The undertaking by a publishing firm of a work of the size of BECHTEL'S on any equally technical subject is of course unthinkable.

The author's views on the interrelations of the dialects are nowhere set forth connectedly, but must be gathered from his system of arrangement and from the remarks scattered over detached paragraphs. One sees that he is in agreement with others in the broad lines of classification (but the positions given in the arrangement to Elean and to Pamphylian disguise their most important affinities; cf. Meillet, *Bull. Soc. Lang.* XXIV, 52 ff.), and in recognizing the mixture of Aeolic and West Greek elements in Thessalian and Boeotian, of Achæan and Ionic in Arcadian and the survival of some Aeolic or Achæan forms in various West Greek dialects. But he goes farther than others in appealing so frequently as he does to the principle of mixed elements in the population to account for differences within a dialect, often where other factors seem more probable. If in Arcadian we find both *δν-* (= *ἀνέ-*) and *άν-*, he says that *δν-* belongs to the Aeolic and Achæan element and *άν-* to the Ionic. I have no doubt that some features of Arcadian, like *αι* and *άν*, are due to prehistoric Ionic mixture or influence. But I do not believe that *δν-* and *άν-* have subsisted from prehistoric times as parallel forms representing two elements of the population. It is much more likely that *δν-* (*ών-*) is the only genuine Arcadian form, and that *άν-*, though it sometimes occurs at an early date (e. g. *ἀνέθυσέ* beside *ώνέθυσε*) is simply due to the influence in the historical period of the familiar literary form. That there was a very considerable external influence on the dialects long before the period of specific *κοινή* influence (cf. my *Grk. Dial.*

so should finally *\*πῶρος*. Not only is there no occurrence of such an uncontracted form, but according to the other evidence for contraction of *ο* + *α* it would yield *πῶρος* in all dialects. Cf. *Class. Phil.* II, 255, where I have objected to this derivation of *πῶρος*, without suggesting a substitute. Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 2, 52, calls the derivation "noch nicht erklärt." I now believe that *πῶρος* is formed directly from *πω-*, IE. *\*prō-* (cf. *πῶμος*, Umbr. *promom*, from IE. *\*pro-*) and *πᾶρος* from *πᾶ-*, IE. *\*pṛ-* (or however one chooses to designate the long weak grade = Skt. *īr*, *ūr*), seen in Lith. *pirmas*, Skt. *pūrvas*.



§ 275) is increasingly evident and explains many things that are often attributed to remoter causes.

In general BECHTEL gives too little recognition to historical mixture both early and late. In Thessalian (I, 143) he still assumes, beside regular gen. pl. *-έων* or *-άν*, another form of contraction, different from anything known outside of Attic-Ionic, for the late *Γομφιούν. προξενιούν*, which I have explained (Glotta I, 131) with the approval of others, as containing Att. *-ών* in Thessalian dress. Late texts are full of such hybrids, which B. sometimes recognizes, e. g. Epid. *έώρη* (II, 449). Quite different factors are involved in Argol. *δικάσαι* beside *δικάσσαι* (e. g. influence of the Doric *κούή*, or even without this an extension of the *ξ*-type to cases where it was once inhibited by the preceding guttural); but I am wholly skeptical of BECHTEL's view that they reflect a prehistoric mixture of the population,—and so in many like cases.

In Cyprian BECHTEL sees an Aeolic element distinct from the main Achaean (Arcadian) strain, and reckons as such the *op* = *ap* in *κατέφορον* and *σέξια*. But he is certainly wrong in denying this to Arcadian, where the evidence of it is even better than in Cyprian. He resists it by assuming an original *o*-grade for *έφθορκός* and *πάνάγρις* (cf. West. Ion. *άγρις*), assimilation for *τέτορτος*, and by failing to mention *βρόχης* IG. V. 2. 300 and *Διός στορπάδ* ibid. 64. This last leads us to observe that even this great work, with all its wealth of material, is by no means free from omission of some significant facts. In the treatment of the Cretan dialect I can find no mention of one of its unique characteristics, the extension of acc. pl. *-avs* to consonant stems, as in *θυγατέρας, κύνας*, etc.

BECHTEL (II, 663 ff.) follows Brause in denying central Cretan psilosis. I am no more convinced than Hermann, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1924, 783. The total absence of any designation of it in the early material from Central Crete, coupled with forms like *κατιστάδ*, is set aside as negligible evidence, in favor of *χίρνας* in a second-century treaty between Gortyna and Lappa and the anomalous *καθονύμειν* of Vaxos. The existence of *h* outside of central Cretan is another matter, though even there, the material being late, I suspect external influence (Attic and Doric *κούή*). The doubt of Boeot. *ττ* from *στ* (I, 256 and Hermes XXXVI, 424 ff.) is uncalled for and the analysis of *έττε* as *έν-ττε* (with *-ττε* wholly in the air) the most improbable. The Boeot. *έττω* = *έττω* of Plato and Aristophanes is sufficient evidence of a colloquial assimilation in Boeotian (as in several other dialects), though it was more often ignored in the spelling. These are many examples of parallel forms in a given dialect (especially as regards consonant assimilation, but also others), for which other explanations, including dialect mixture, are

often sought, when they more probably reflect only the fluctuation between the colloquial and the more careful speech or spelling. And a quotation like the Boeot. ἴττω or the Lac. κάρρων in Plutarch may be more significant than the usual spelling in inscriptions.

A matter to which BECHTEL gives much attention, furthering the problem though not entirely clearing it up, is the representation of the lengthened or contracted *ε* and *ο* vowels (Att. "spurious diphthongs") in certain dialects where it is not uniform, notably Argolic, Rhodian, Coan, Theran, with both *η*, *ω* (*ἡμί, δῆλομαι, βωλά*) and *ει, ου*, and early Cretan with *Ε* and *Η*. In many cases, for example if we find usually *βωλά*, but also *βουλά, ἦμεν*, but also *εῖμεν*, the forms with *ει, ου* merely show the encroachment of Attic orthography. But evidently something more is involved when in the forms of verbs in *-εω* we find never *η* but only *ει* and in Argive also *ι* as early as the fifth century, *τελίτω, ἀφαιρίσθαι*, later also *καλίσθαι* (as also *ηῖ, ἰ = εῖ* with genuine diphthong). Since the various processes of lengthening and contraction took place at different periods, it would not be surprising if the results were not always uniform in regard to vowel quality (though in most dialects they are). It is along this line that BECHTEL, following up Brause's treatment of Cretan, seeks the solution. His general thesis, which as usual must be gathered from detached statements (II, 15, 459, 524, 528 ff., 628, 680 ff., 691), is that for the dialects in question the vowel resulting from contraction was close (*ει, ου*) in contrast to that resulting from compensative lengthening (*η, ω*),<sup>2</sup> and further that in Theran and earliest Cretan the result of the latest lengthening, that arising from *υ* etc., was also close. Many of the facts fit this formulation, but others do not. Leaving aside Cretan for the moment, in the others we do have regularly *ει* (or even Arg. *ι*) resulting from contraction in verbs in *-εω* and Doric futures (Arg. *εδείτο, βλεψείσθα*, etc.), but also *η* by contraction in Ther. *τρῆς*, Rhod., Coan *κῆνος*, Arg. *τῆνος*, and regularly in the Argive augmented forms, *ἦρον, ἦρπε, ἦσαντο, ἦργάσαντο* (Epid. *ἦλετο* and *εἶλετο*). Again, we do have usually *ου* from contraction in verbs in *-όω* (*στεφανοῦν, ἀξιοῦντι*, etc.; yet Coan *καρπῶντι, ἐξορκῶντι*, though B. takes these from *-ωω*) and in gen. sg. *-ου*, but also *ω* by contraction in Arg. *λωτήριον*. The

<sup>2</sup> Just the opposite relation is assumed (II, 14) for Locrian on account of gen. sg. *-Ο*, but acc. pl. *-ΟΥΣ* in the colonization law. So also previously, Meillet, *Bull. Soc. Ling.* XVI, 288. The same difference is observed in some Ionic inscriptions, and it is well known that the spelling *Ο* is most persistent in the genitive singular. Is it anything more than a graphic vagary? There are still such questions of detail in the *ει, ου* dialects, for example the reason for the exceptionally early appearance of the spelling *ΕΙ* in *εἰμί*, examples of which are increasing.

dominance of *ei*, *eu* in certain categories, and the contrast in the two syllables of Rhod. *ἡμεν* (and early Cret. HMEN if this corresponds to later *ἡμην* and is not *ἡμεν*), is too marked to be accidental, but there must be other factors than a difference between contraction and lengthening. I can see no phonetic formulation which covers the situation. As to a difference between the lengthening from *υf* etc. and others, this seems to be true for early Cretan *καενος* (= later *ξήνιος*) in archaic inscriptions which have H. For Theran the *οὔροι* in an inscription which contains an Att.-Ion. *φέουσιν* is not the best of evidence. BECHTEL cites also *hEνατον* with E in contrast to *Ημ*, etc., without noting the fact that in these archaic Theran inscriptions there is some fluctuation in the designation of *η*, e. g. E for original *η* in *ῥεκσάτωρ* beside *ῥοκλθς* IG. XII. iii. 762, *ῥορEs* ibid. 354, 355 beside *ῥορθς* ibid. 371, and that in *hEνατον* with initial H = h there would be a special reason for not repeating the letter in its vowel value. For this whole matter more evidence is needed.

In a forthcoming revision of my *Greek Dialects*, I shall have occasion at very many points, without discussion, to retain views or present others that are different from those preferred by BECHTEL. But it will not be from failure to consider the latter, and I shall have profited, as all students of the Greek dialects must, from this monumental work.

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Prolegomena to an Edition of the Panegyricus Messalae: The Military and Political Career of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus. By JACOB HAMMER. Columbia University Press, 1925. Pp. ix plus 101.

This good dissertation, developed at the suggestion of Professor Charles Knapf, is a contribution to the intimate study of the field of Roman literature in the Augustan Age. Messala Corvinus, who ranks among the more important political figures of the reign of Augustus, was a patron or a friend of Tibullus, Horace and Ovid, and gained himself great reputation as an orator. Studies of this kind are worth while if for no other reason than that they cast side-lights on conditions under which the patronized Augustan authors wrote. Similar studies might be made too of patrons in the post-Augustan period.

Mr. HAMMER's treatment is largely of Messala's military and political career and is adequately based on the original sources. Possibly the discussion of some campaigns, in which Messala may have taken part, is unnecessarily long in view of the fact

that so little of Messala's share in events is known in any detail. There seems to be to some extent a lack of proportion: so much of Messala's early career is given, and so little of his later work, especially of his position of *curator Aquarum*, which is dismissed in a few lines, though Messala was the first regular *curator*, served some twenty years, and must have had a great deal to do with the very extensive work carried out under Augustus for the city's water-supply. A study of Frontinus, the *Res Gestae*, and such inscriptions as may be extant (e. g. C. I. L. VI, 1244), would be worth while in this connection.

The importance of the senate and of the senatorial class under the new regime is belittled. Messala's political career and character are defended at every turn as if Mr. HAMMER were a partizan. The difficult chronological questions of the dates of Messala's birth and death are sensibly treated, but I should be inclined to give more weight to the statements in Jerome and Frontinus which seem to agree pretty well on the year 13 A. D. for the death of Messala.

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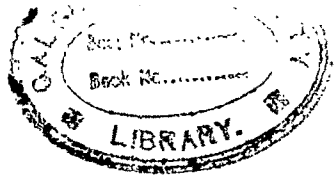
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## ETYMOLOGICAL AND CRITICAL NOTES.\*

### 1. Bdelium and Onyx.

In the Biblical description of Paradise (Gen. 2, 12) bdelium and onyx are mentioned as products of the land of Havilah. It has been suggested, however, that v. 12 should follow v. 13 (OLZ 16, 489)† so that gold, bdelium, and onyx would be the products of Ethiopia compassed by the river Gihon, *i. e.* the upper course of the Nile. The explanation of the rivers of Paradise, which I gave 22 years (JAOS 16, ciii) ago, was adopted by Driver and Skinner in their commentaries on *Genesis*. The Island of Meroë, S of the Nubian Desert, is bounded by the Nile, the Atbâra (or Black Nile) and the Blue Nile which empties into the White Nile at Khartum, the capital of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Arab. *surfûm* means *elephant's trunk*; a promontory at the confluence of the White Nile and the Blue Nile resembles an elephant's trunk. At Khartum the White Nile is greenish-gray, while the Blue Nile is clear and blue; but when it is in flood, it is chocolate-brown. Next to the Blue Nile the Atbâra is the largest tributary of the Nile.

Alexander the Great fancied at first that the sources of the Nile were in northwestern India. The ancients believed that there was a continental connection between India and eastern Africa. The real birthplace of the Nile was not discovered before

\* The following six brief communications are abstracts of papers presented at the monthly meetings of the Johns Hopkins University Philological Association during the academic session 1925-'6 on Dec. 17, Jan. 21, Feb. 18, Mar. 18, Apr. 15, May 20, respectively.

† For the abbreviations see vol. 46 of this JOURNAL, p. 197, n. 3.



1862. The main headstream of the Nile is almost wholly in what was formerly known as German East Africa. Even until the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the belief persisted that there was a connection between the Nile and the Niger, the great river of Western Africa, and for some time the Niger was considered to be identical with the Congo. The noted Arabian geographer Idrîsî (who died in 1154) believed that the Nile of Egypt and the Nile of the Negroes (*i. e.* the Niger) had a common source in the Mountains of the Moon. This range, which was supposed to traverse Africa from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, has disappeared from modern maps. It may have been suggested, not by the Rwenzori, which is c. 65 m long, but by Mounts Kenya and Kilimanjaro, the highest known summit in Africa, which is nearly 20,000 feet high.

For bdellium and onyx the Hebrew has *bēḏōlāh* and *shōhām*. The term *bēḏōlāh*, which the Jewish commentators explain as *pearls*, denotes the gum-resin of the *Acacia Nilotica*, which is still one of the chief exports of Nubia. It was regarded as very precious, just as costly as the genuine Bactrian bdellium (OLZ 16, 489). The finer varieties of this gum were used, not as an adhesive paste, but as an emollient and demulcent. Our *gum*, which is a Semitic word, appears in Hebrew as *algummām* or, transposed, *almuggīm* (AJP 45, 241, l. 1; cf. JHUC 354, 47, l. 3). Also *bēḏōlāh* is a Semitic word: the original form of the stem is *ḥālabā* > Arab. *ḥālaḥ*, milk. The reflexive *taḥāllaba* is used in Arabic of the secretion of perspiration, saliva, and tears. We call the exudation of certain juices of trees *tears*: we speak of *tears of amber*, *tears of balsam*, *tears of resin*. The *d* in *bēḏōlāh* represents an infixed *ṭ* (JAOS 45, 314<sup>s</sup>) partially assimilated to the initial *b* and the following *l* (JAOS 16, civ, n. \*).

Heb. *shōhām* (*šōḥm*) has been identified with Ass. *sāndu*, the feminine of Ass. *sāmu* = Arab. *ashamu*, black,† which may be a causative of *ḥm*, heat. The *s* in Ass. *sāmu* instead of *š* is due to the labial (BA 10, 2, p. 95, r. 19) as it is also in *sēbû*, seventh; *sāmnu*, eighth; *bussuræ*, bring glad tidings; Heb. *šēbībî*, sur-

† Cf. Halévy, *Revue Critique*, 1881, p. 479 (cited in Dillmann's *Genesis*<sup>o</sup> 58m) = *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire relatifs aux peuples sémitiques* (Paris, 1833) p. 157; see also ZA 10, 369; JBL 32, 141.

roundings = Ass. *šibbu*, belt. For *h* in Heb. *shôh<sup>m</sup>* instead of Arab. *h* we may compare Syr. *gêhân*, incline = Arab. *jānaha* (JAOS 43, 422<sup>4</sup>).

Shoham denotes *malachite*. We must remember that Roman poets call myrtle and ivy: *niger*. The complexion of the Semites is called in Syriac: *šêhâmâ*, i. e. not black, but *olive*, *brunette*.  $\text{Ⲅ}$  has for Heb. *shôh<sup>m</sup>*:  $\delta \lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma \delta \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\iota\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$  which  $\text{Ⲛ}$  renders 'énquē *hamalmîl*, precious stone of green color.  $\Pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\iota\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$  is used not only of leek-green, which would be a dull bluish green, but also of dark green, although it is derived from  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\omicron\nu$  = Lat. *porrum* < *porsum*, Fr. *porreau* or *poireau*.  $\Pi\rho\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  is the name of a frog in the *Batrachomyomachy*, a parody on the *Iliad*, which the ancients attributed to Homer, but which seems to have been composed at the time of Alexander the Great. The name *malachite* is derived from *Meluza*, the Sumerian name of Nubia. *Meluza* means *black servants*; so it is a name like *Sûdân* (OLZ 16, 491; contrast JEA 6, 92). The Sumerian name of the *sându* is *guk* which is a later form of *mi*, night, darkness (SGI 126<sup>s</sup>). The shoham stone has been repeatedly explained as *malachite*,|| but the majority of Biblical scholars explain it as *onyx* or *beryl* (so RV and AT<sup>4</sup>). Cf. BA 10, 2, p. 94, n. 13.

## 2. Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves.

Open Sesame, the charm by which the door of the treasure-cave in the tale of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves flew open, has never been understood. It is by no means certain that *sîmsim* in the Arabic phrase *yâ sîmsim, iftâḥ dâbak*, O sîmsim, open thy gate! denotes *sesame*. The fact that Ali Baba's covetous brother took it to be the name of a cereal does not prove that it actually had this meaning in that case, although, when he does not remember the word *sîmsim*, he substitutes *shô'irah*, barley; *hînṭah*, wheat, and *hîmmic*, chick-pea. He might just as well have been under the impression that *sîmsim* denoted *coriander* (Heb. *gad*) and might have substituted *kûzburah* or *juljulan*. Similarly, in a Hebrew charm, *sûs* might have been used for *swallow*, and someone, who took it to mean *horse*, might have

|| Cf. EB 1749<sup>m</sup>. 4809; EB<sup>11</sup> 17, 455<sup>m</sup>; ZA 10, §71; KB 6, 405, *ad* 1. 56; AJSL 34, 230; 39, 184. 31.

substituted *parásh* or *rāksh* (see *Mic.* 25, n. 18; 78<sup>m</sup>). In an English formula, *turtle* might refer to a marine turtle, but someone, who had forgotten the context, might substitute *dove* or *pigeon*. Our *locust*, the common name of *Robinia pseudacacia*, might be taken to mean *grasshopper* and be replaced by *cicada*, *cricket*, &c.

*Simsim*, which the first European translator of the Arabian *Nights*, Antoine Galland, heard on May 27, 1709, may represent an original *thimṭān*. In modern Arabic, *s* often appears for an original *th* (as in Ethiopic). The rare stem *thámthama* means *to stop*, e. g. the mouth of a vessel. It means also *to desist* and *to talk hesitatingly*, and, with reference to a sword, *to be rigid*. The primary connotation of *thámtham*, hunting-dog, may be *stop-hound*. The panic-grass, with which rents in the tent-cloth are stuffed, is called *thumâm*, stopper. An Arabic commentary on Labid's *Mu'allaqah* says: *nábtu<sup>n</sup> júsáddu bíḥi xálalu-ṭ-buḫāti*.

In Hebrew, this stem appears as *shamám* which means both *to be astonished* and *to be destroyed*. The original meaning is *to be rigid*, petrified with astonishment, and *to stop*, come to an end, perish. In Syriac we have, with partial assimilation of the *m* to the *t*, the verb *tan*, *to be rigid*, *to stiffen* > *ittanán*, *to be stupefied*. Syr. *tan*, *to smoke*, is a different stem which must be connected with Heb. *natán*, *to give*. *Rêh*, odor, may be omitted, just as you can say in Greek: *προσβάλλειν* instead of *προσβάλλειν ὀσμήν*, e. g. *κρέα ἰχθύων προσβάλλοντα*, meat that smells of fish. Syr. *tēnānē*, smoke, corresponds to Arab. *natānah*, stench. The primary connotation of Heb. *tannîm*, jackals, is *stinkers* (JAOS 43, 422). Syr. *attîn*, *to fumigate*, is the Arab. *ántana*, *to reek* = *to emit an unpleasant odor*, *crig. to give out fumes or vapors*. Ger. *rauchen* and *riechen*, *Rauch* and *Ruch* (for *Geruch*; cf. BL xxx, l. 5) are ultimately identical. Bar Bahlûl gives Syr. *tēnānē*, vapors, exhalations, Arab. *buxârât*. From the same root *tn*, which is identical with Arab. *tm*, we have in Syriac: *tēnāb*, *to become rigid*; *tēnē-ūt* *‘āqnē* denotes *fixedness of the eyes*, fixed stare. Syr. *tēmāz*, which has passed into Hebrew as *tamáh*, means not only *to be defounded*, but has preserved also the connotation *to stop*; the causative *atmáh* signifies *to stop* the growth of a plant, and *tēnāh bābātā* means *the pupils were rigid*.

Arab. *simsim*, sesame, is the Aсс. *šimaššimru*, which is a compound of *šamaš*, sun, and *šamru*, medicinal plant. Sesame was called *sun-plant* from the yellow color of the oil expressed from the seed. In Germany it is used for coloring artificial butter. Arab. *súmsum*, ant, on the other hand, is a reduplication of *summ* (*sim*, *samm*) poison < the Sumerian *šem*, aromatic plant, which appears also in Egyptian (JBL 34, 73, l. 9). The name *súmsum* is not inappropriate: ants have poison glands.

Arab. *thímthim*, now pronounced *simsim* (like *simsim*, sesame) may have meant *bouchement*, *bouchage* (cf. below, p. 311<sup>s</sup>). In the tale of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves it denoted the stone or slab with which the entrance to the treasure-cave was closed. *Open sesame* meant originally *Спер, stopper!* (or closure, barrier). The Arabic phrase *yâ símsín, iftáh bâbak* may be translated: *O enclosure, open thy entrance!* or *O barrier, open thy passage!* Cf. BA 10, 2, p. 165.

### 3. Lat. *bucina* and Gr. *βυκίνη*.

Lat. *bucina* is the prototype of the German word for trombone: *Posaune*. In MHG we find the forms *pusûne*, *busûne*; *pusîne*, *busîne*. Luther speaks in Josh. vi of the *Posaunen von Jericho*. AV has *trumpets of ram's horns*; but *sound of a horn* is the Hebrew term for the subterraneous rumbling preceding or accompanying an earthquake (WZKM 23, 35<sup>7</sup>). Jericho was destroyed by an earthquake.

Trombone < It. *tromba*, trumpet. The older English name for trombone (It. *tromba spezzata*) is *sackbut* (< Sp. *sacabuche*, trombone). We find this term e. g. in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* and in AV, Dan. 3, 5; but Aram. *šabbēkâ*, mistranslated *sackbut*, was a stringed instrument, a triangular harp with four strings. It appears in Latin as *sambuca*; in Greek we have *σαμβύκη* which was, according to Strabo 471, a barbarian name. The primary connotation of the Semitic name is *grate*, lattice. Cf. Finesinger, *Mus. Instruments in OT* 35.

The *bucina* was one of the signal instruments in the Roman army. It was bent in the form of a broad C, with a bar across the curve. Some specimens, from Pompeii, are preserved in the museum at Naples, and there are facsimiles in the conservatories of Paris and Brussels. On Trajan's column we distinguish

the *bucina*, the *cornu*, and the *tuba* (Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule*, Berlin, 1926). The *cornu* was the prototype of the bugle which was originally a bull's horn (< *buculus*, bullock). The *bucina* was made of bronze; it was not the horn of an ox or cow. The name is not a contraction of *bovicina* < *bos* and *canere*, but derived from *bucca*, cheek, which appears in Italian as *bocca*, mouth, Fr. *touche*. Also Lat. *bucca* is used for *mouth*: Cicero says *garrere quidquid in buccam venerit*. Lat. *bucca* denotes especially the full cheek; the flat cheek is *gena*. The *bucinator* inflates his cheeks. This explains the derivation of *bucina* from *bucca*. The best MSS and inscriptions write *bucinæ* and *bucinator* with one *c*. In German, children with full cheeks are called *Posammenengel*.

In Polybius (c. 150 B. C.) we find *βυκάρη* for *bucina*, but we need not regard it as a Latin loanword. It is derived from *βύν*, to cram, to fill. Herodotus, in the story of Croesus and Alcmaeon, says (6, 125): *τὸ στόμα ἐβέβυστο*, the mouth was crammed full. *Βύσμα* means *stopper*, plug, bung. The lexicons give also the forms *βυνεῖν* (Ar.) and *βύζειν* (Aret.). Thucydides as well as Arrian have the adverb *βύζην*, stuffed, crowded, close. When Alexander the Great besieged Miletus in 334, the Macedonians blocked the entrance to the principal harbor by anchoring triremes close together with their prows toward the sea. Arrian (*Anab.* 1, 19, 3) says: *ἀντιπρώπους βύζην τὰς τριῆρεις ὀρμίσαντες*.

In French, the verb *boucher* < *bouche*, mouth, is used in a privative sense, to *deprive of a mouth* or opening. Our *bung* means both *bung-hole* or orifice in a cask, through which it is filled, and *stopper* for closing the bung-hole. Privatives are common in Semitic (GK<sup>28</sup> § 52, h; NBSS 101). We have them also in English, e. g. to stone raisins, to shell almonds, to bark trees, to sprout potatoes, to skin animals, to head a fish, to worm a flower-bed, also to worm a dog, i. e. to remove the sublingual vermiform band, an operation which was supposed to prevent rabies. You say in French: *boucher une bouteille*, to stop or cork a bottle; *boucher la vue d'une maison*, to obstruct the view of a house, orig. to deprive it of an opening; *boucher une porte*, to wall up a door. *Bouchon* means stopper, cork, also *stop-gap*.

like *bouche-trou*. *Bouchement* means *walling up*, and *bouchage*: stopping, corking. All these words are ultimately derived from Lat. *bucca* > *bucina* = Gr. *βυκάρι*.

#### 4. The pronunciation of Ethiopic.

The founder of Ethiopic philology, Hiob Ludolf (1624-1704) learned Ethiopic (the ecclesiastic and literary language of Abyssinia, which ceased to be the language of the people more than 1,000 years ago) from a learned Abyssinian, Abba Gregorius, with whom he became acquainted in Rome. Gregorius' Ethiopic letters to Ludolf were edited and translated by a former student of mine, the late Dr. Flemming, in the first two volumes of the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Grammar. The excellent Ethiopic grammar and the great Ethiopic lexicon of Dillmann (who knew more Ethiopic than the most learned Abyssinian, and who gave me *privatissima* in Ethiopic at his house 46 years ago, while I studied Amharic at the house of Prætorius) were based on the works of Ludolf.

Fifty years ago the late E. Trumpp, of the University of Munich, published in ZDMG 28 a paper on the accent in Ethiopic, based on the information he had received from a young Abyssinian, Walda Sēlāsē, who had come to Europe to revise the Amharic Bible. His statements often differed from Ludolf's rules. In 1917 E. Littmann, of Tübingen, published his Geez studies in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Göttingen, and in the *Journal asiatique* for 1921 there is an article by Marcel Cohen on the traditional pronunciation of Ethiopic.

Now the Director of the Oriental Seminary connected with the University of Berlin, E. Mittwoch, has just published the first part of a new series entitled *Abessinische Studien*, in which he discusses the traditional pronunciation of Ethiopic. § He bases his remarks on the information from two learned Abyssinians, Aleka Tajje, who was instructor in Ethiopic and Amharic at the Berlin Oriental Seminary during the years

§ Eugen Mittwoch, *Die traditionelle Aussprache des Äthiopischen* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1926).

1906/7, and Blatta Hērûi, a justice of the Abyssinian Supreme Court, who spent several years in Berlin in the summer of 1923.

The traditional pronunciation of Ethiopic is influenced by Amharic. We know that various laryngeals and sibilants have been confounded in Ethiopic MSS for a long time, but the Abyssinians pronounce now Eth. *a* as *ě*, and *ê* and *ô* as *îê* and *uô* (JAOS 45, 316<sup>1</sup>) as if we should say *îusus* for Lat. *usus*, or as we say *wun* for *one*. Nor does the traditional pronunciation of Hebrew represent the language of David or Isaiah. We need not follow the Amharic pronunciation of Ethiopic, just as we need not become iotacists, or adopt the modern Italian pronunciation of classical Latin. We must reconstruct the original pronunciation according to physiological-historical principles.

Pronunciations like *îékun*, *îésim* instead of *îêkûn* *îésim*, are certainly not original. *Bahér*, sea; *sahéq*, derision; *sa'én*, shoe; *rahéb*, width, are no doubt influenced by the script, just as one of my English friends in London 46 years ago insisted on pronouncing the *l* in *half*, *calm*, *calf*, &c. A Russian dancer recently read *crowed*: *kraṣ'éd* instead of *krôd*. The ordinal numbers *sâlés*, *hâmés*, third, fifth, with the stress on the ultima, may have been influenced by the feminine forms *sâlést*; *hâmést*. If *mannu*, who? is pronounced *mannû*, it may be due to the fact that this pronoun is a compound of *man*, who? and the interrogative particle *-hû?* which we have also in Assyrian (e. g. *anâkû*, am I = *anâku* + *hû?* see AG<sup>2</sup> § 189). The names of the Ethiopic letters, given in our grammars, are unknown in Abyssinia—Isenberg said so long ago—they may have been invented by the Abyssinian (*Tasfâ Q'ëiôn*; RE<sup>3</sup> 3, 89, 38) who edited the Ethiopic NT (Rome, 1548). Nöldeke (BSS 133<sup>s</sup>) believed they were considerably older than the fifth post-Christian century; he thought it possible that they were adopted from the Sabæans.

##### 5. Onias and Alcimus.

Zech. xi (8 triplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line) has been called one of the strangest sections in OT; it is not so strange, however, as the commentaries on this poem. Wellhausen thought that the first of the two shepherds (*i. e.* ποιμένες λαῶν)

represented Hyrcanus ben-Tobias at the time of the visit of the Syrian chancellor Heliodorus (2 Mac. 3, 7. 11) who murdered (175 B. C.) King Seleucus IV Philopator, the elder brother and predecessor of Antiochus Epiphanes, while the second shepherd was supposed to be Menelaus, the Hellenizing high priest who succeeded Jason, the younger brother of the orthodox high priest Onias who was supplanted by Jason. The legend of *Bel and the Dragon*, which we find in the Septuagintal additions to the Book of Daniel, is said to be taken from the prophecy of Habbakuk, the son of Jesus, of the tribe of Levi (JHUC 325, 47). This Jesus may be identical with Jason, the younger brother of Onias. The original name of Jason was Jesus (GJV<sup>4</sup> 1, 124, n. 23).

The two shepherds in Zech. xi represent the orthodox high priest Onias and the Hellenizing high priest Alcimus against whom Ps. 55 is directed (MF 122, n. 16). The poet considers only Onias and Alcimus, not the intervening high priests Jason and Menelaus, just as the author of Dan. v mentions only Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, not Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, Laborosoarchod, and Nabonidus. The orthodox high priest Onias is identical with the founder of the Jewish temple in Leontopolis, although Josephus nowhere states that Onias who emigrated to Egypt had been high priest in Jerusalem. The Jewish historian, it may be supposed, hated to admit that the temple in Egypt had been founded by an Aaronite who had been high priest in Jerusalem. The account of Onias' murder at Daphne (2 Mac. 4, 34) is unhistorical.

The contemporaries of the Maccabean poet who wrote Zech. xi no doubt understood the historical allusions (*Pur.* n. 106). If there were an American allegory stating, The Lord said unto me, Play the part of a college president. Set up a rule of justice and right. Try watchful waiting. Be too proud to fight. Strive for peace without victory. Establish a league of nations.— But the people were dissatisfied with me. Then the Lord said unto me, Play the part of a newspaper editor. Conduct your campaign from the front porch of your own home. Bring the country back to normalcy. Do not enter the league of nations. Give no cash bonus to the veterans. Introduce a flexible tariff



for the benefit of the workman (a glossator might have added: *or manufacturer*)—if an American poet published such an allegorical poem, we should understand his allusions, but 2,000 years hence there might be various interpretations.

If we want to understand the Bible we must ascertain first, what the words mean; then, what they refer to; and finally we may consider what they may be applied to. The majority of our ministers consider only the potential applications. The latest expositors explain Zech. xi not as an allusion to certain contemporary events (DB 4, 968<sup>24</sup>; AT<sup>4</sup>) but as eschatological prophecy. I stated in my address on *Armageddon* (JAOS 34, 413) that the so-called eschatological passages as well as the alleged Messianic prophecies in OT had, as a rule, a definite historical background, but when the prophetic bills drawn on the future were not honored, they were afterwards extended to Doomsday.

Zech. 11, 8 (for which there are some forty different explanations, *e. g.* Moses, Aaron, and Miriam; Judas Maccabæus, Jonathan, and Simon; Galba, Otho, and Vitellius) is a misplaced gloss on 12, 10 where we must read instead of *uē-hibbîtu elâi ât-âšûr daqârû*, which is quoted in John 19, 37: *uē-'alû 'al-âšûr duqqârû*, they will mourn over those who were stabbed, which refers to the founder of the Hasmonean dynasty, Simon, and two of his sons, who were assassinated at a banquet given by Simon's son-in-law who was governor of Jericho (AJP 45, 63<sup>4</sup>). Zech. xi. xii may have been written in two parallel columns, and the gloss on 12, 10, which now appears in 11, 8, may have been inserted between the two columns whence it crept into the text of the wrong column, just as the gloss on Gen. 3, 16<sup>b</sup> (CoE 508) appears now in Gen. 4, 7<sup>b</sup> (read: *uē-'elâik tēšûqatô uē-'att timšēlî-ô*) and as the gloss *lô-namût; Iahûê lē-mišpāt samô uē-giyyâhû lē-hôkîh iēsûdatô* (Ps. 87, 1) = we (the faithful Jews) shall not die; JHVH appointed him (Demetrius) for a judgment (2 Mac. 6, 12-16; 7, 18<sup>b</sup>. 32) and commanded him to chasten His foundation, which belongs to Hab. 2, 4<sup>b</sup>, the just shall live by his faith, *i. e.* the faithful Jews will survive (the Syrian persecution) in (spite of) their faithfulness (JBL 40, 182) appears now in Hab. 1, 12. We must read in Zech. 11, 8: *uāi-iaḥîdû âi-šēlōš hâ-rô'im bē-kerâ aḥhât*, they

destroyed the three princes at one banquet. *Kerî*, which we find also in 2 K 6, 23, is the Ass. *kirêtu* (AkF 46<sup>1</sup>) = Arab. *qirān*.

### 6. Ezekiel's Song of the Sword.

- i 21, 14<sup>b</sup> "A sword, a sword<sup>1</sup> was sharp-  
ened [man,<sup>3</sup> and also burnished.<sup>2βγδ</sup>  
17 O, shriek and howl, son of for it is for my people  
'And all the princes of Israel,<sup>4</sup> consigned to the sword."<sup>7</sup>
- ii 21 Be a slasher, right and <sup>9</sup>left whither thy edge is appointed!  
19<sup>b</sup> Let the sword be doubled and  
tripled,<sup>5</sup> the sword of carnage!<sup>6</sup>  
20<sup>a</sup> That their hearts melt away  
(through terror,) and the fallen be many.
- iii 'Gainst all their gates have I [set  
And thou, son of man,<sup>3</sup> the slaughter of the sword.  
19<sup>a</sup> prophecy, and clap thy hands!  
I, too, will clap my hands (with grim approbation).<sup>8</sup>

- 
- ) 21, 13, 14 JHVH's word came to me: Son of man,<sup>3</sup> prophesy and say: Thus said  
the Lord  $\lambda\lambda$  flashing].
- ) 20<sup>b</sup> Ha! it was made [] {for slaughter} it was burnished {} [for  
) 15<sup>a</sup> it was sharpened to make a slaughter, it was burnished that it might  
have a flash
- ) 16 He gave it to the killer<sup>6</sup> to grasp with the hand; it was sharpened,<sup>μρ</sup>  
and it was burnished to give it into the hand of the slayer<sup>6</sup>
- ) 17 was (r) it (θ) 21 set  
) they were with my people; therefore smite upon thy hip! <sup>7ννξξ</sup>
- ) 19<sup>b</sup> it is the sword for the great carnage, which is all around them
- ) 22 I will appease my fury; I, JHVH, have spoken.
- 

- λ) 21, 14 say (μμ) 16 sword  
ν) 15<sup>b</sup> or let us rejoice,<sup>8</sup> His <sup>9</sup> son's <sup>10</sup> rod <sup>11</sup> beats <sup>12</sup> every stake.<sup>13</sup>  
ξ) 18 for it<sup>1</sup> has been tried;<sup>14</sup> and what, if it should not be a super-rod,<sup>15</sup> says the  
[Lord, JHVH <sup>13</sup>

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

- (1) The army of Nebuchadnezzar (604-561).
- (2) It was splendidly equipped. Also the Seleucid army (under Apollonius) which destroyed Jerusalem in 167 B. C. was distinguished by its external magnificence (MF 121, l. 4). The passage 1 Mac. 6, 39 says of the army of Antiochus Eupator (164-162 B. C.): *when the sun shone upon the shields of gold and brass, the mountains shone therewith, and blazed like torches of fire.*
- (3) A term of respectful address like our *Sir*. In Assyrian, *mâr amîti*, son of a man, denotes a *gentleman* in contradistinction to *mâr lê mcanma*, a son of nobody. Sp. *hidalgo* means originally *son of something*. A patrician is a man with fathers, not a *terrae filius*, a person of obscure birth. Sp. *hijo de la tierra* is a child of unknown parentage (JBL 40, 168, 183).
- (4) The upper classes were deported (2 K 24, 14; 25, 12). Several dignitaries were executed (2 K 25, 21).
- (5) The sword will slash right and left so rapidly that there will seem to be two or three swords instead of one.
- (6) Nebuchadnezzar.
- (7) A token of grief; cf. the Homeric phrase *πλήξασθαι μηρόν* (Il. 16, 25; 15, 113) and EB 6, 88, 21. For mourning customs see *Pur.* n. 6.
- (8) Or, rather, let us rejoice; for our destroyer was the greatest king on earth.
- (9) JHVH'S. (10) Judah's. (11) Nebuchadnezzar.
- (12) Lit. *contemns*, makes contemptible.
- (13) Cf. the tree on which the chief baker was gibbeted (Gen. 40, 19) or Hamar's tree (Est. 7, 9; BL 102\*).
- (14) In former campaigns; it was an army of veterans; Nebuchadnezzar had defeated Necho of Egypt at Carchemish in 605.
- (15) Lit. *a contermining rod*; cf. n. 12.
- (16) If a modern boy and his sister were mourning the death of their father run over by a Rolls-Royce, the romantic flapper

might say, I am glad, it was a Folls-Royce, and her less optimistic brother might reply, what difference would it make if it had been a flivver. It would make a difference if they wanted to sue for damages; but, if Jerusalem had been destroyed by an inferior king, the effect would have been the same. If a man is killed by a new expensive automatic, the newness and expensiveness of the murderous weapon afford little comfort to the reliefs; if the gunman had used an old shooting-iron it would not have affected the final result. Cf. BA 10, 2, p. 224, l. 27.

CRITICAL NOTES.

(i) Read *môrâtâ* or *môrâtîâ* instead of *mêrîîâ*. The *dages forte affectuosum* (GK<sup>28</sup> § 20, i) may be admitted in the pausal form. We find it also in Assyrian (AG<sup>2</sup> 133). The doubling of the consonant is due to the accent on the preceding vowel (cf. Ass. *imandad* = *imaddad* = *imádád*, MF 123<sup>1</sup>).

In the last hemistich of this triplet read *muggarê* instead of *mêgûrê*; cf. the phrase *higgîr 'al-îêdê hârb* (Ez. 35, 5; Jer. 18, 21; Ps. 63, 11). The stem is *iaġâr* (= Eth. *yaġara*, to throw) > Aram. *îâġrâ*, *ôġerâ*, heap of stones. Also the stem of Heb. *hîssîg* is *iašag* (GB<sup>17</sup> 525<sup>a</sup>).

(ii) At the beginning of the second triplet read *hithaddâdî* = *ὁ ἐξύνοῦ, ἢ subacuere*.

For *šêlîšîîâ* at the end of the third hemistich read *têšullâš*. The *h* at the end of *šêlîšîîâ* should be prefixed to the preceding *hârb*.

The *-îm* appended to *halâl* at the end of this line is a misplaced correction of *-ôt* appended to the last word of the preceding line (*mû'adôt* should be *mû'adîm*).

*Halâl* (cf. MF 123, n. 30) in this passage is not an adjective like *hakâm*, *iašâr*, *iaqâr*, *halâq*, *badâd*, but a substantive like *'amâl*, *ra'âb*, *naqâm*, *garâb*, *ašâm*. For *hî hârb hâh-halâl* *ἢ* has: *Hic est gladius occisionis magnæ*.

For *la-mûg leb* read *himmêg libbâm*, and *mukšalîm* for *mukšôlîm*.

(iii) We must read *îbhât* for *îbhâî*; there is no Ass. *abâru* = *ṭabâru*.

(β) We must transpose *lê-ṭâbh* and *lê-barâq*.

(γ) Read *îhîê* for *hîîé*. (δ) for *morîâ* read *mêraççêh*.

- (7) Omission of the suffix in *šerekēkā* is due to haplography.  
 (8) *Hašimî* before *hašmîî* is undeleted corrigendum.  
 (κ) It is not necessary to add *bam* after *hānîhôtî*.  
 (ν) We need not substitute the cohortative *î* (*Ezekiel* 73, 48) for *ô*, rather.

Read *bēnô* for *bēnî*, and *mô'és* for *mô'äst*; so, too, in 14.

PAUL HAUPT.

### שירת החרב

וגם מִן־טַח <sup>17</sup>	חָרַב חָרַב הוֹחֵדָה	14 <sup>b</sup>
בִּי־חַיָּא <sup>18</sup> בַּעֲמִי	וְעַק וְהִלֵּל בֶּן־אָדָם	17
מִתְגַּרִי אֶל־חָרַב־	זֹכֵל נְשִׂיאֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	
אֶת־פְּנֵיךָ מַעֲדִים:	הַתְּחַדְדִי הַיְמִינִי <sup>19</sup> הַשְּׁמִילִי	21
חָיִב הַחֲלָלִי:	וְתַכְפֹּל הַחָרַב וְתִשְׁלַשׁ	19 <sup>b</sup>
וְהִרְבֵּת הַמַּכְשָׁלִים	לִמְעַן הַפּוֹג לָבָם	20 <sup>a</sup>
מִבְּחַת חָרַב:	עַל־כָּל שְׁעֵרֵיהֶם נִתְּתִי	
וְהִתְקַף עַל־קַף	וְאַתָּה בֶּן־אָדָם תִּנָּבֵא	19 <sup>a</sup>
כַּפִּי עַל־כַּפִּי <sup>20</sup> :	וְגַם אֲנִי אֶכָּח	22

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14.13 וַיְהִי דְבַר יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר: בֶּן אָדָם הִנֵּבֵא וְאַמְרָתָה כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָיִךְ

(20<sup>b</sup>) אַח עֲשׂוּיָה לְמַבֵּחַ מִרְטָה לְבָרֶק

(15<sup>a</sup>) לִמְעַן מַבֵּחַ מַבֵּחַ הוֹחֵדָה לִמְעַן יִהְיֶה לָּהּ בָּרֶק מִרְטָה

(16<sup>a</sup>) וַיִּתֵּן אֶתֶּה לְמַרְצָח לְחַפֵּשׁ בִּכְף

הִיא הוֹחֵדָה<sup>21</sup> וְהִיא מִרְטָה לְתַת אֹתָהּ בִּיד הָרֶג:

(17) הִיתָה<sup>(2)</sup> הִיא<sup>(21)</sup> הַשִּׁמִּי

הָיוּ אֶת־עַמִּי לֶכֶן סָפַק עַל יִרְכָּךְ<sup>22</sup>

(19<sup>b</sup>) הִיא חָרַב תַּחֲלָל הַגְדֹּל הַחֲדָרֶת לָחֶם

(22) וְהִתְחַוִּיתִי חֲמָתִי אֶנִּי־יְהוָה דִּבַּרְתִּי

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(14) אָמַר<sup>16</sup> חָרַב

(15<sup>b</sup>) אִו נְשִׂישׁ שֶׁבֶט־כְּנֻ מֵאֵם כְּלִיעֶץ:

(18) כִּי לָחַן וּמָה אִם גַּם שֶׁבֶט מֵאֵם לֹא יִחִיָּה נָאִם אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה:

## AGELMUND AND LAMICHO.

It is the purpose of the present paper to examine with some care the story of Agelmund and Lamicho (or Lamissio), as told by Paulus Diaconus in his *Historia Langobardorum*, Book I, secs. 14-18. Paulus wrote his *Historia* toward the end of the eighth century. There is another work, however, which deals with the same events and is over a century older than Paulus's work. I refer to the anonymous *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*. Since moreover Paulus used the *Origo* as one of his sources, it will be convenient to begin with that work. I quote from G. Waitz's edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*:

Est insula qui dicitur Scadaran . . . in partibus aquilonis, ubi multae gentes habitant; inter quos erat gens parva quae Winnilis vocabatur. Et erat cum eis mulier nomine Gambara, habebatque duos filios, nomen uni Ybor et nomen alteri Agio; ipsi cum matre sua nomine Gambara principatum tenebant super Winnilis. . . . Ab illo tempore Winnilis Langobardi vocati sunt. Et moverunt se exinde Langobardi, et venerunt in Golaidam, et postea possiderunt aldonus<sup>1</sup> Anthaib et Bainaib seu et Burgundab; et dicitur, quia fecerunt sibi regem nomine Agilmund, filium Agioni, ex genere Guggingus. Et post ipsum regnavit Laiamicho (v. l. Lamicho) ex genere Guggingus. Et post ipsum regnavit Lethuc (v. l. Leth), et dicitur, quia regnasset annos plus minus quadraginta. Et post ipsum regnavit Aldihoc, filius Lethuc. Et post ipsum regnavit Godehoc. Illo tempore exivit rex Audoachari de Ravenna . . . et venit in Rugilanda et impugnavit Rugos et occidit Theuvane regem Rugorum. . . . Tunc exierunt Langobardi de suis regionibus, et habitaverunt in Rugilanda annos aliquantos. Post eum regnavit Claffo, filius Godehoc. Et post ipsum regnavit Tato, filius Claffoni. Sederunt Langobardi in campis Feld annos tres. Pugnavit Tato cum Rodolfo rege Herulorum, et occidit eum. . . . Et occidit Wacho, filius Unichis,

<sup>1</sup> *Aldonus* 'half-free.' See W. Bruckner, *Sprache der Langobarden*, p. 201.

Tatonem regem barbanem <sup>2</sup> suum. . . . Mortuus est Wacho,  
et regnavit filius ipsius Waltari annos septem farigaidus: <sup>3</sup>  
isti omnes Lethinges fuerunt. <sup>4</sup>

From this account it would appear that in early days two royal dynasties ruled over the Langobards: first the line of the Gungings, to which Agelmund and Lamicho belonged; and secondly the line of the Lethinges, which began with Leth or Lethuc and ended with Waltari. When did these kings live? The war between Odoacer and the Rugians is represented, by the author of the *Origo*, as having taken place in the reign of Godehoc. Now we know of this war from other sources, and it is usually put in the year 487.<sup>5</sup> This gives us a date for Godehoc. Moreover, Procopius gives a full account of the war between the Langobards and the Eruli,<sup>6</sup> and we are able to say with assurance that Tato flourished at the beginning of the sixth century. If now Godehoc reigned in the 480's, and if his grandfather (or father) Leth ruled the Langobards for something like 40 years (as the *Origo* says he did), then Leth's reign presumably began somewhere in the 430's, if not earlier, and Agelmund and Lamicho are to be put in the early part of the fifth century or the end of the fourth. As for Gambara and her sons Ybor and Agio (i. e., Pig and Sword), these look like mythical figures of some sort: divinities or cult objects. Agelmund, the first king, is apparently made son of Agio much as the early English kings traced their ancestry to Woden.

Paulus gives us a much more detailed account. I quote only that part of his story which concerns Agelmund and Lamicho:

14. Mortuis interea Ibor et Aione ducibus, cui Langobardos a Scandinavia educerant et usque ad haec tempora rexerant, nolentes iam ultra Langobardi esse sub ducibus, regem sibi ad ceterarum instar gentium statuerunt. Reg-

<sup>2</sup> *Barbanem* 'paternal uncle.' Bruckner, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> *Farigaidus* 'childless.' Bruckner, p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum Saec. VI-IX*, pp. 3 f.

<sup>5</sup> On the authority of the so-called Cuspiniani Anonymus. Cf. T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders* II, 100, for some account of this monument.

<sup>6</sup> *De Bellis Gothicis* II 14 (ed. Haury, Vol. II, pp. 208 ff.).

navit igitur super eos primus Agelmund, filius Aionis, ex prosapia ducens originem Gungingorum, quae aput eos generosior habebatur. Hic, sicut a maioribus traditur, tribus et triginta annis Langobardorum tenuit regnum.

15. His temporibus quaedam meretrix uno partu septem puerulos enixa, beluis omnibus mater crudelior in piscinam proiecit negandos. Hoc si cui impossibile videtur, relegat historias veterum, et inveniet, non solum septem infantulos, sed etiam novem unam mulierem semel peperisse. Et hoc certum est maxime aput Aegyptios fieri. Contigit itaque, ut rex Agelmund, dum iter carperet, ad eandem piscinam deveniret. Qui cum equo retento miserandos infantulos miraretur hastaque, quam manu gerebat, huc illucque eos inverteret, unus ex illis iniecta manu hastam regiam comprehendit. Rex misericordia motus factumque altius ammiratus, eum magnum futurum pronuntiat. Moxque eum a piscina levare praecepit, atque nutrici traditum omni cum studio mandat alendum; et quia eum de piscina, quae eorum lingua 'lama' dicitur, abstulit, Lamissio (v. l. Lamisio) eidem nomen inposuit. Qui cum adolevisset, tam strenuus iuvenis effectus est, ut et bellicosissimus extiterit et post Agelmundi funus regni gubernacula rexit. Ferunt hunc, dum Langobardi cum rege suc iter agentes ad quendam fluvium pervenissent et ab Amazonibus essent prohibiti ultra permeare, cum earum fortissima in fluvio natatu pugnasse eamque peremisse, sibiue laudis gloriam, Langobardis quoque transitum paravisse. Hoc siquidem inter utrasque acies prius constitisse, quatenus, si Amazon eadem Lamissionem superaret, Langobardi a flumine recederent; sin vero a Lamissione, ut et factum est, ipsa vinceretur, Langobardis eadem permeandi fluentia copia praeberetur. Constat sane, quia huius assertionis series minus veritate subnixa est. Omnibus etenim quibus veteres historiae notae sunt patet, gentem Amazonum longe antea, quam haec fieri potuerint, esse deletam; nisi forte, quia loca eadem, ubi haec gesta feruntur, non satis historiographis nota fuerunt et vix ab aliquo eorum vulgata sunt, fieri potuerit, ut usque ad id tempus huiusmodi inibi mulierum genus haberetur. Nam et ego referri a quibusdam audiri, usque hodie in intimis Germaniae finibus gentem harum existere feminarum.



16. Igitur transmeato Langobardi de quo dixeramus flumine, cum ad ultiores terras pervenissent, illic per tempus aliquod commorabantur. Interea cum nihil adversi suspicarentur et essent quiete longa minus solliciti, securitas, quae semper detrimentorum mater est, eis non modicam perniciem peperit. Noctu denique cum neglegentia resoluti cuncti quiescerent, subito super eos Vulgares inruentes, plures ex eis sauciant, multos prosternunt, et in tantum per eorum castra dibachati sunt, ut ipsum Agelmundum regem interficerent eiusque unicam filiam sorte captivitatis auferrent.

17. Resumptis tamen post haec incommoda Langobardi viribus, Lamissionem, de quo superius dixeramus, sibi regem constituerunt. Qui, ut erat iuveni aetate fervidus et ad belli certamina satis promptus, alumni sui Agelmundi necem ulcisci cupiens, in Vulgares arma convertit. Primoque mox proelio commisso, Langobardi hostibus terga dantes, ad castra refugiant. Tunc rex Lamissio ista conspiciens, elevata altius voce, omni exercitui clamare coepit, ut obprobriorum quæ pertulerunt meminissent revocarentque ante oculos dedecus, quomodo eorum regem hostes iugulaverint, quam miserabiliter eius natam, quam sibi reginam optaverant, captivam abduxerint. Postremo hortatur, ut se suosque armis defenderent, melius esse dicens, in bello animam ponere quam ut vilia mancipia hostium ludibriis subiacere. Haec et huiusmodi dum vociferans diceret, et nunc minis nunc promissionibus ad toleranda eorum animas belli certamina roboraret; si quem etiam servilis conditionis pugnantem vidisset, libertate eum simul cum praemiis donaret: tandem hortatu exemplisque principis, qui primus ad bellum prosilierat, accensi, super hostes inruunt, pugnant atrociter, et magna adversarios clade prosternunt; tandemque de victoribus victoriam capientes, tam regis sui funus quam proprias iniurias ulciscuntur. Tunc magna de hostium exuviis praeda potiti, ex illo iam tempore ad expetendos belli labores audaciores effecti sunt.

18. Defuncto post haec Lamissione, qui secundus regnaverat, tertius ad regni gubernacula Lethu (v. ll. Lethuc, Leth) ascendit. Qui cum quadraginta ferme annos regnasset, Hildeoc (v. l. Hildeoch) filium, qui quartus in

numero fuit, regni successorem reliquit. Hoc quoque defuncto, quintus Gudeoc (v. l. Gudeoch) regnum suscepit.<sup>7</sup>

Before proceeding with the discussion, it may be well to give an analysis of the story as told by Paulus:

- 1) The Langobards chose Agelmund, son of Aio, as their first king.
- 2) Agelmund reigned thirty-three years.
- 3) During his reign a certain harlot gave birth to a litter of seven boys.
- 4) She threw them into a fish-pond, to drown them.
- 5) Agelmund, happening to ride by, stopped to look at the drowning litter.
- 6) He stirred them about with his spear.
- 7) One of the boys clutched the spear.
- 8) This impressed the king, and he had the boy fished out and cared for.
- 9) He named him Lamissio, i. e., 'the fish-pond man.'
- 10) Lamissio grew up and became a great warrior.
- 11) On one occasion Agelmund and his army tried to cross a certain river.
- 12) His passage was disputed by Amazons.
- 13) It was agreed that the matter should be settled by a duel between Lamissio and the strongest of the Amazons.
- 14) Lamissio killed his opponent; the fight took place in the river itself, the antagonists apparently swimming as they fought.
- 15) Lamissio thus won for the Langobards a passage across the river.
- 16) The Langobards now settled in the lands beyond the river.
- 17) There followed a long period of peace.
- 18) The Langobards, lulled into a false security, were caught unawares by the Vulgares in a night attack; the Vulgares slew Agelmund and carried off his daughter into captivity.

<sup>7</sup> Waitz, pp. 54 ff.

- 19) The Langobards eventually recovered from the disaster.
- 20) They chose Lamissio as their king.
- 21) He entered upon a campaign against the Vulgares.
- 22) In the first battle the Langobards were put to flight, and sought refuge in their camp.
- 23) There Lamissio, by a fiery speech, restored their courage.
- 24) Led by Lamissio, they attacked the Vulgares, and overthrew them; the campaign thus ended with a second battle as successful as the first had been disastrous.
- 25) From this time on the Langobards were bolder in war-making.
- 26) Lamissio died, and was succeeded by Leth, who reigned nearly 40 years.

The story as we have it in Paulus is obviously the saga of Lamicho; the other characters are subordinated to him throughout. In considering the saga we may as well begin at the beginning, i. e., with the birth story. The story belongs to a type which J. Grimm long ago sketched for us:

Sichersten aufschluss gewährt uns also der mythus von den Welfen. . . . Die an manchen orten auftauchende sage meldet von drei, sieben, zwölf auf einmal gebornen knäblein, die, weil sich ihre mutter fürchtete, oder eine böse schwieger es veranstaltete, ausgetragen und ersäuft werden sollten, durch dazwischenkunft des vaters aber, dem man sie für blinde welfer angab, zur rechten stunde gerettet wurden. Hiernach empfangen sie den namen Welfe, Hunde oder Eitelwelfe, Eitelhunde und werden stammherrn berühmter geschlechter. Auch die abweichung kommt vor, dasz man die neugeborenen drillinge dem priester spöttisch als hunde oder welfe zur taufe dargetragen habe.<sup>8</sup>

Paulus departs from this sketch in more than one particular, it is true. Thus, his Agelmund is not stated to be the father of Lamicho. But here the *Origo* gives us an indication that Paulus has omitted something, for it tells us that Lamicho, like Agelmund, was a Gucing, and from this we may reasonably

<sup>8</sup> *Gesch. d. deut. Spr.* (4th ed.) II 395. Cf. R. Much, *ZfdA* LXII 121 f.

infer that the author took the two kings for blood kinsmen, perhaps father and son as in Grimm. Again, when Paulus tells us that Agelmund rescued only one of the hapless brood, he may be reporting an old and legitimate variant of the tale. He departs entirely from Grimm's model, however, in the etymology which he gives for the hero's name. He derives *Lamissio* from a Langobardish *lama* 'fish-pond,' whereas the name ought to mean 'whelp' or 'dog' to accord with Grimm's type. Paulus's etymology, though rejected by Mommsen<sup>9</sup> on the ground that *lama* is an Italian word, is accepted by Bruckner, who defends the Germanicism of *lama*.<sup>10</sup> But we shall soon see that this word, whatever its provenience, has nothing to do with the hero's name. Paulus's is only a popular etymology, of course, and has no authority. Let us begin, then, with the evidence, not with Paulus's etymological conjectures.

The name occurs in a variety of forms: *Laicmicho*, *Lamicho*, *Lamissio*, *Lamisio*. But the last three are phonetically identical, as *ch*, *ssi*, *si* are merely various ways of writing the same sound, viz., the sound of *ch* in German words like *ich*.<sup>11</sup> We may confine ourselves, then, to the first two forms, both of which occur in our oldest and hence most authoritative monument, the *Origo*. Of the two readings, Waitz puts *Laicmicho* into the text. The reading *Lamicho*, however, in view of its support in the *Historia*, must also be taken into account. Our problem is that of reconciling the two readings. This cannot be done by starting from Paulus's *lama*. Such a method of reconciliation amounts to throwing *Laicmicho*, the better reading, out of court, and basing the etymology exclusively on the one reading *Lamicho*. A true reconciliation can be effected in only one way. *Laicmicho* must be regarded as the earlier, *Lamicho* as the later form. The phonetic change involved is the loss of the semi-vowel *j* in intervocalic position. In Old High German an intervocalic *j* is preserved not infrequently, if the preceding vowel is long; it tended to vanish even in this position, however. There is some evidence that a similar situation existed in Langobardish, which, after all, is in many important respects a High German dialect.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* V 68.

<sup>10</sup> Bruckner, pp. 44, 275. <sup>11</sup> Bruckner, p. 156. <sup>12</sup> Bruckner, p. 135.

We may thus postulate a long vowel before the *j* and a sound-change *Lājamicho* > *Lānichāc*. But the Germanic *lama*, if it existed, had a short stem-vowel,<sup>13</sup> while the Romanic *lama* is of course to be excluded in any case. Paulus's etymology, therefore, cannot be right.

What is the true etymology of the name? *Lājamicho* seems to be a diminutive of *\*Lājamo*, formed by the addition of a familiar suffix, the Langobardish equivalent of English *-ca*, Icelandic *-ki*. The name *\*Lājamo*, in turn, is obviously compound; with it may be compared the extant Langobardish name *Agimo*.<sup>14</sup> The two names have in common a second element *-mo*. The first element of *\*Lājamo* seems to be an extended base *\*lā-ja-*. What did this base mean? The simple base *\*lā-* probably occurred in West Germanic, in a verb *\*lājan* 'bark, revile' = Gothic *laian* 'revile.' Cf. Icelandic *lá* 'scold.' The same base with suffixal *-m* appears in Old Icelandic *lémíngr* 'lemming,' which according to Torp originally meant 'barker.'<sup>15</sup> The extended base, compounded with *-m*, presumably meant much the same thing. The name *\*Lājamo*, then, probably means 'barker,' that is, 'dog,' for dogs are the barkers *par excellence*. And the extant diminutive form *Lājamicho* means 'little dog.' We thus have to do here with a nickname; the true name of the hero has not survived to us.

The imperative of our West Germanic verb *\*lājan* would doubtless be *\*lāi* > *\*lai*. This survives, perhaps, in the Old English ejaculation *lā*. The *New English Dictionary* gives no etymology for *lā*. The editors by their silence seem to agree with Skeat, who tells us that the word is "a natural interjection, to call attention." But since Skeat compares it with the Latin *lā-trāre* 'to bark,'<sup>16</sup> we have some support from him in connecting *lā* with a West Germanic *\*lājan* 'to bark, revile.' The semantic development is parallel to that of Modern English *damn*, which in the imperative has come to be a simple ejaculation, almost or quite as meaningless as an *Oh!* The Modern

<sup>13</sup> Bruckner, p. 183.

<sup>14</sup> Bruckner, p. 218.

<sup>15</sup> *Nynorsk Etymol. Ordbok* sv. Lemende; cf. R. Much, *ZfdA* LVII 153, and (for IE material) Uhlenbeck, *Etymol. Wb. der gotischen Sprache* sv. laian.

<sup>16</sup> W. W. Skeat, *An Etymol. Dict. of the English Language* sv. lo.

English *to* 'look' is probably not derived from the Old English ejaculation, in spite of the phonetic correspondence.

Is the nickname 'dog' appropriate to a king of the Langobards? There can be no doubt of its appropriateness, in view of the researches of R. Much, who has made it appear altogether probable that the Langobards were the *Hundir-gas* (i. e., 'dog's sons') of *Widsith*, and that the feud between Wulfings and Hundings of which we learn in the *Edda* was a feud between Wulfings and Langobards.<sup>17</sup> The Northern monuments have given us some account of this feud, from the point of view of the Wulfings. Paulus, I think, is telling us of the same feud in his story of Lamicho, but he tells the tale, of course, from the viewpoint of the Hundings.

Paulus gives the name *Vulgares* to the opponents of the Langobards. This of course means the Bulgars, but Paulus is clearly wrong here, since the Bulgars did not appear in Europe until 479 A. D.,<sup>18</sup> whereas Agelmund and Lamicho flourished *circa* 400 at latest, as we have seen. When Paulus says *Vulgares*, then, he is obviously *interpreting* some other name. In 1889, R. Much took up and elaborated an earlier conjecture of K. Müllenhoff's that *Vulgares* here stands for the Huns.<sup>19</sup> But we have no evidence that the Langobards ever waged war with the Huns (much less the Bulgars), and if they ever had, one would expect the Hunnish name to maintain itself in the Langobardish tradition concerning such a war. I wish to venture an entirely different explanation of the *Vulgares* of Paulus. We know that the Wulfings, the 'wolf's sons,' were the great rivals of the Langobards in their early history. Now the name *Wulfing* can be made into a contemptuous epithet by putting it into the feminine: \**Wulging* 'son of a she-wolf.' Compare Icelandic *ylgr* 'she-wolf' and note the English phrase *son of a bitch*. If in the Langobardish tradition the name of their opponents had been handed down in this contemptuous form, what would Paulus make of it? Since he wrote in Latin, he would Latinize the name, of course, and since he was writing a history, he would

<sup>17</sup> *ZfdA* LVII 160 f., LXI 109 f., LXII 120 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Joannes Antiochenus 211. 4 (*Frag. Hist. Graecorum* edd. C. and T. Müller IV 619); cf. Hodgkin III 121.

<sup>19</sup> *ZfdA* XXXIII 9 ff.

seek to identify the tribe with some tribe whose historical existence was otherwise attested. In other words, he would act much as historians act today, when they deal with such material. Now the name would presumably appear in Langobardish tradition as *\*Vulgingas*, where *Vulg-* is the base, *-ing-* the suffix and *-as* the ending.<sup>20</sup> Of all the tribal names which have come down to us from the early Middle Ages, the name *Vulgares*, and that name only, bears any resemblance to our *\*Vulgingas*. We might well expect it of Paulus, then, to make the identification, and to substitute the "pure" Latin form in place of what he would consider the corrupt popular form! Indeed, we may go further. *Vulgares* can be analyzed as *Vulg-ar-es*. Here base and ending correspond neatly enough to base and ending of *\*Vulgingas*, while *-ar-* might readily be identified with the Germanic suffix *-(i)ar-*, widely used in tribal names, and capable, like *-ing-*, of interpretation in the vague sense 'people.'—We may compare the following story from the *Edda*: Helgi the Wulfing, after doing a little spying at the court of his enemy, king Hunding, takes refuge with his foster-father Hagall. But

Hundingr korrungr sendi menn til Hagals at leita Helga.  
En Helgi mátti eigi forðaz annan veg, en tók klæði ambóttar  
ok gekk at mæla.<sup>21</sup>

And a little further on, in the verse, Helgi is called *Ylfinga man* 'maid of the Wulfings.' Evidently the Hunding had some excuse for giving to their opponent a feminine epithet.

Before entering upon a comparison of the relevant Northern monuments with the Langobardish story of Lamicho, it is desirable to compare these monuments with one another, and to reconstruct, so far as possible, the primitive Scandian version of the wars between Hunding and Wulfing. In essaying this task I build, of course, on the researches of many predecessors. I may mention in particular Sophus Bugge's epoch-making book, *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, and Rudolph Much's important essays in vols. LVII and LXI of the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*. In the following I will present in a continuous narrative, and in highly condensed form, the material,

<sup>20</sup> For the ending *-as* see Bruckner, p. 179.

<sup>21</sup> *Helgakviða Hundingsbana 2*.

the argument and the conclusion. The reader, unless he is at home already in the monuments under discussion, is urged to go to them for the full account; lack of space alone would prevent me from reproducing them here!

Three characters named Helgi appear in the *Helgakviður*: Helgi Hjörvarðsson, Helgi Hundingsbani and Helgi Haddingjaskati. The last is barely mentioned, however, and we hardly know enough about him to take him into account here. The three Helgis, and their respective mistresses Sváva, Sigrún and Kára, are said to be successive incarnations of the same pair of lovers, and are thus identified, after a fashion, by the author (or authors) of the prose parts of the *Helgakviður*. The characters in the *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar* (abbreviated *HHv*) that concern us are as follows:

Iðmundr		Svafnir		
Atli	Eylimi	Alfhildr m. Hjörvarðr m.	Sigrinn	Hróðmarr
	Sváva	Heðinn	Helgi	Alfr

According to the story, king Hjörvarðr at Glasielundi had three wives; by one of them, Alfhildr, he had a son, Heðinn. He heard of the beauty of Sigrinn, daughter of king Svafnir of Svávaland, and desired her as a fourth wife. He sent his retainer Atli, son of Iðmundr, to ask Svafnir for the hand of Sigrinn. Atli's mission was unsuccessful, however; Svafnir rejected the suit of Hjörvarðr. The king thereupon decided to go himself to Svávaland, accompanied by Atli and, apparently, a force of men. When he arrived he found that another (rejected) suitor of Sigrinn's, Hróðmarr by name, had arrived before him, on the same errand. Hróðmarr had killed Svafnir and devastated Svávaland, but since Sigrinn was well hidden he had not found her. Atli found and captured Sigrinn for his lord, however, and Hjörvarðr went back home with her in triumph. She bore him a son, Helgi, who fell in love with a *valkyrja*, Sváva, daughter of Eylimi. Sváva gave him a sword, and helped him in battle. Helgi, in an expedition to avenge the slaying of his grandfather Svafnir, killed Hróðmarr, but was later killed by Hróðmarr's son Alfr. In Helgi's absence his brother Heðinn, through the curse of a troll-woman, made a vow to win for himself Sváva, his brother's betrothed. He had



hardly made the vow before he repented of it, and, seeking his brother out, confided to him what he had done. Helgi, who knew he was fey, consoled Heðinn, and then went off to his fatal duel with Alfr. Heðinn swore to avenge Helgi, but we are not informed whether he did so, or whether he finally won Sváva.

The persons that concern us in the two *Helgakviður Hundingsbana* (abbreviated *HH 1* and *HH 2*) are as follows: Sigmundr son of Völsungr, Sinfjötli Sigmundarson, Helgi Sigmundarson by Borghildr; Högni and his children Sigrún, Bragi, Dagr; Hundingr and his sons Eyjólf, Alfr, Hjörvarðr, Hávarðr (and Hemingr); Grammarr and his sons Höðbroddr, Guðmundr, Starkaðr. According to the story, Helgi kills king Hundingr of Hundland after certain vicissitudes. He also slays four sons of king Hundingr in a second battle, after refusing them wergeld for their father and thus forcing them to attack him. According to *HH 1* he slays all the sons of Hundingr, but *HH 2* mentions a son, Hemingr, who is not reported as slain in either *kviða*. He meets the *valkyrja* Sigrún, who tells him that her father has pledged her hand to Höðbroddr, and begs him to save her from this unwelcome suitor. The pair betroth themselves to each other. A battle follows between Helgi and the combined forces of Högni and the sons of Grammarr. Helgi wins the fight; Högni, his son Bragi, and all the sons of Grammarr, fall. Helgi later meets his death at the hands of Dagr, who thus avenges the slaying of his father Högni.

From the prose piece, *Frú dauða Sinfjötla*, we glean a little more information. Besides Sinfjötli himself, the following are mentioned in the piece:

	Völsungr	Eylimi	Hjálprekr.
Borghildr m.	Sigmundr m.	Hjördís m.	Alfr.
Helgi,	Hámundr	Sigurðr	

We learn nothing about Helgi, apart from the names of his father and mother, Sigmundr and Borghildr. We are told that Sigmundr fell in battle against the sons of Hundingr, and that his second wife Hjördís thereupon married a certain Alfr, son of Hjálprekr. From the *Reginsmál* we learn that Lyngvi,

son of Hundingr, was the slayer of Sigmundr, and that Sigurðr avenged his father's death by slaying Lyngvi and his brothers.

The *Sörlapáttir* gives us the following genealogical information:

	Heiðrekr úlfhamr	
Halfdan	Hjörvarðr	
Högni m.	Hervör	Hjarrandi
Hildir	—————	Heðinn
	<i>carried off by</i>	

From other sources we know that Heiðrekr úlfhamr (or úlfheðinn) was the son of Guðmundr á Glasisöllum. Halfdan and his son Högni are represented as kings of Denmark; Hjarrandi, as king of Serkland (i. e., Africa). Heðinn and Högni act much like their namesakes in the *Helgakviður*, with the difference, of course, that no Helgi figures in the tale, which is the familiar story of the *Hjaðrningavíg*. This story also appears in Snorri,<sup>22</sup> where the name of Högni's kingdom is not given, and in Saxo,<sup>23</sup> who says Högni was king of Jutland. To be compared, further, are *Sögubrot* IV and V, and the *Ynglinga-saga* secs. 37 ff. The genealogies there given are as follows:

<i>Sögubrot</i> V	<i>Ynglingasaga</i>	<i>Sögubrot</i> IV
Hildibrandr	Högni	
Hildir, Hildir	Hildir m. Granmarr = Granmarr	
	Hildiguðr m. Hjörvarðr = Hárvarðr ylfingr	

Hildibrandr is king of Reiðgotaland. The Högni of the *Ynglinga* rules East Gautland. Granmarr's realm is Suðrmanland according to the *Ynglinga*, East Gautland according to *Sögubrot* IV. Hjörvarðr is represented as a "sea-king." He goes by the epithet *Ylfingr*, but Hildiguðr in her toast, *Allir heilir Ylfingar at Hrólfs minni kraka*, seems to identify Ylfings and Skjöldungs. Yet we need not assume that Hjörvarðr was actually a Skjöldung.<sup>24</sup> Granmarr and Hjörvarðr were burned to death, in their hall, by king Ingjaldr of Sweden, who made

<sup>22</sup> *Skáldskaparmál* cap. 49.

<sup>23</sup> *Gesta Danorum*, Book V, ed. Holder, pp. 158 ff.

<sup>24</sup> See my *Literary History of Hamlet*, I 104.



Saxo	Jutland
Snorri's <i>Edda</i>	not named, but apparently West Gautland
<i>Ynglingasaga</i>	East Gautland
<i>Sörlapáttir</i>	Denmark

I have elsewhere shown<sup>25</sup> that *Reiðgotaland* was originally the land of the Gauts, but that from a very early date the name was applied also to the old home of the Goths by the Vistula. The same name was also in use for Jutland; it was brought thither by the Gauts who settled there after the overthrow of the Gautish kingdom by the Swedes. The localizations listed above thus hang together perfectly. Högni properly belonged in the Vistula region, whence his localization in *Reiðgotaland*, the only Germanic kingdom in those parts which survived the migration period. But since the name was often used for Gautland and Jutland, Högni might easily be transferred, by tradition, to either of these regions. And since Jutland was eventually incorporated in Denmark, its sovereign would be subject to interpretation as a Danish king. All the localizations are thus easily explicable on a single hypothesis, viz., that Högni, originally and properly king of the Rugians, came to be thought of, in Scandian tradition, as king of the neighboring *Reiðgotaland*.

The story of Hildir is told in full only in Saxo, Snorri and the *Sörlapáttir*. The chief characters are Högni, his daughter Hildir and Hildir's lover Heðinn. Snorri represents Heðinn as kidnapping Hildir while her father is away from home. Högni pursues and finally overtakes the pair. They try their best to effect a reconciliation with Högni, but he repulses them harshly and fights it out with Heðinn. The battle lasts all day. During the night Hildir by her magic revives the dead, and the next day the fight is renewed. This continues indefinitely, and according to Snorri it will continue to the end of the world. Snorri gives a matter-of-fact account, with little motivation, though one gathers that Hildir is a willing captive. Saxo and the *Sörlapáttir* give essentially the same story, but their tone is decidedly different. Saxo makes Hildir and Heðinn fall in love with each other through mere hearsay, before

<sup>25</sup> *King Alfred's Geats*, printed in *Modern Language Review* XX 1-11.

their first meeting! No kidnapping takes place; in fact, Heðinn is a blameless hero. The blame is put on certain slanderers, who make Högni believe that Heðinn seduced his daughter before their betrothal. Högni himself is pictured as an honorable, even a generous man, although his folly in believing the slanders is emphasized. He is defeated in his first encounter with Heðinn. In his second (a duel) he wins, but generously spares Heðinn's life, out of pity for his youth and beauty. In his third encounter with Heðinn, seven years later, he slays his opponent, but only at the cost of his own life. Saxo mentions Hildr's resuscitation of the dead, and explains that she did this out of longing for her lover. Great is the contrast between Saxo and the *Sörlapáttir*. This monument makes Heðinn's deeds even more evil than they appear in Snorri. Nevertheless we are able to sympathize with Heðinn, for he is bewitched. A wicked sorceress gets him into her power by virtue of a magic potion, and all his evil deeds are really hers. When he is released from the spell, he does what he can to mend matters—but it is too late. Högni is portrayed very sympathetically. He is just and generous throughout. The friendship between Högni and Heðinn is emphasized. They are represented as swearing brotherhood to each other, and the breaking of this brotherly relationship is the central tragedy of the saga. Heðinn's murder of Hervör, Högni's wife, is the crime which Högni cannot forgive, and for that one can hardly blame him.

It is well known that the Hildr story influenced the authors of the *Helgakviður*, but the extent of its influence was even greater than has been generally supposed. Let us first examine *HHv* and see what we find. Here Heðinn appears as brother of Helgi. Through the arts of a wicked sorceress he is forced to make a vow to win for himself Helgi's mistress, Sváva. As in the *Sörlapáttir*, Heðinn repents bitterly as soon as the sorceress removes her spell, and makes what amends he can. The Helgi of *HHv* stands for the Högni of the other story, of course, and Sváva corresponds to Hildr. The situation differs in that Helgi is the lover, not the father of Sváva, and the plot develops differently because Helgi shows himself as eager as Heðinn to become reconciled. Nevertheless, Helgi's fight with Alfr may be taken as a substitute for the fight with Heðinn that the paral-

lel with the Hildr story demands. Moreover, the half-brotherhood of Helgi and Heðinn is parallel to the sworn brotherhood of Högni and Heðinn. Finally, Sváva as a *valkyrja* has obvious points of resemblance to Hildr, who likewise is a woman of supernatural powers. The particular version of the Hildr story used by the author of *HHv* was obviously a version close to the *Sörlafáttr*.

In the *HH* the influence of the Hildr story is even more important, and here a version close to that of Saxo was used. Högni appears in person, with a daughter called Sigrún, the representative of Hildr. Helgi stands for Heðinn. Högni is a rather colorless figure in the *HH*. He is simply the instrument of Höðbroddr, the rival suitor and true villain of the piece. As in many a story of this kind, the rival is the father's favorite, the hero the daughter's. Höðbroddr takes the place of the slanderers of Saxo, who influenced Högni to action contrary to his own interests and to his daughter's wishes. Sigrún reminds one of Saxo's Hildr by her passionate love for Helgi: she loved him before she ever saw him, and she had a passionate love-scene with him, in the barrow, after his death. Like the Sváva of *HHv*, she is a *valkyrja*. Högni and Helgi fight over Sigrún much as Högni and Heðinn fight over Eildr, although the nightly resuscitation of the dead survives only in the scene at Helgi's barrow. The kidnapping does not appear, any more than it does in Saxo. Corresponding to the three encounters between Högni and Heðinn, we have (1) the battle of Frekastein, in which Högni and his son Bragi are killed by Helgi; (2) the encounter between Helgi and Dagr (son of Högni), in which Dagr is spared; (3) the slaying of Helgi by Dagr, some years later. Here the victory and the generosity have been transferred from opponent to hero, in the second encounter, and the Högni of Saxo is represented by both Högni and his son Dagr, but the relationship is astonishingly close nevertheless. Note in particular the lapse of time between the second and the third encounter, and the emphasis in both Saxo and *HH* on the evil fruits of generosity. The oath of loyalty which Dagr took to Helgi is only slightly reminiscent of the brotherhood-in-arms mentioned by Saxo. Perhaps Heðinn swore to be loyal in a pre-Saxonian version of the second encounter. In Saxo, Högni

and Heðinn kill each other. In *HH*, where Högni has been split up into father and son, Helgi kills the father and is killed by the son.

*HH 2* does not stand alone in giving Högni a son. We have seen that he has a son, Hildir by name, in the *Ynglinga*, and his doublet Hildibrandr has a son Hildir in *Sögubrot V*. This fragment is too short to give us much information, but one thing is clear: the son, not the father, is to make the trouble for Hildir (although here he will simply be carrying out his father's instructions). Similarly, Dagr, not Högni, is the one who brings Sigrún to grief, and in so doing he was reluctantly carrying out what he evidently thought to be his dead father's wishes. In the *Ynglinga* we find a Hildir Högnadóttir who is not betrothed to Granmarr's son (like Sigrún in *HH*) but married to Granmarr himself. This gives us a hint as to the course of events in *Sögubrot V*, where Hildir is instructed by his father to marry Hildir his sister *lungt í brott*. Other conjectures might be advanced, but the material is too meager to give a good basis for them. Suffice it to say that the story of Hildir seems to have had a considerable growth in directions only hinted at in the versions extant.

The Granmarr of the *HH* properly belongs among the dwarfs, or, more accurately, among the elves.<sup>26</sup> He is from Svarinshaugr, a hill which according to Snorri<sup>27</sup> was the original home of certain dwarfs (whom he names). The elves lived inside the hill, be it understood. In the *Völuspá* this hill is called *salar steinn*<sup>28</sup> presumably because of Granmarr's palace inside it. The name Granmarr 'beard-famous one' is likewise appropriate to a dwarf or elf; these beings, as is well known, made up for their small size by growing inordinately long beards. The fairy hill or elf-mound is a familiar localization of the earthly paradise, over which Granmarr no doubt originally ruled. Further evidence is afforded by Granmarr's relation to Guðmundr. The two are represented as father and son, and since their names alliterate the connexion may be ancient. Now the name *Guðmundr*, as Much has amply established, has definite associations with an earthly elysium, the so-called *Glasisvellir*. Gran-

<sup>26</sup> See my discussion, *Literary History of Hamlet* I 40.

<sup>27</sup> *Gylfaginning* XIV.

<sup>28</sup> Strophe 14, line 3.

marr and Guðmundr, then, as father and son, go very appropriately together. Moreover, we have other indications of a connexion between Granmarr and the Guðmundings. The Granmarr of the *Ynglingasaga* is married to Hildr Högnadóttir. But Högni's wife was Hervör of the Guðmunding family, if we follow the *Sörlapátttr*. Again, Hjörvarðr ylfingr marries Granmarr's daughter Hildigæðr. But according to the *Sörlapátttr* Hervör's father was Hjörvarðr, and this Hjörvarðr certainly might have called himself "ylfingr," since his father's by-name was Úlfhamr. The various monuments do not agree, obviously, on the nature of the relationships. But just as obviously they do agree on the existence of relationships between Granmarr and the Guðmundings. Granmarr cannot have been both great-grandfather, father-in-law and grandson-in-law of Hjörvarðr ylfingr, but the evidence may lead us to conclude that the two were probably related in *some way*!

But there was another tradition about Granmarr. By virtue of his name he could easily be connected with the Bards (whether Lango- or Heaðo-). What name, indeed, could be more appropriate for a Bard than 'the beard-famous one'? Granmarr's seat, moreover, Svarinshaugr, is to be located in old Bardish territory.<sup>20</sup> It is not surprising, then, to find Granmarr as father to Höðbroddr, the poetic representative of the Bards, or to Starkaðr, the famous old Bardish warrior. But the presence of Guðmundr as the third brother is due to a fusion of the two traditions.

Let us now address ourselves to the task of separating the story of Helgi from the story of the Völsungs. Helgi Hundingsbani is represented as son of Sigmundr and Borghildr. But this is obviously wrong. Helgi is no Völsung, and hence is out of place as son of Sigmundr. Likewise Borghildr is no proper mother for Helgi. As a character she belongs in the story of Sinfjötli and so with the Völsungs, while her name, according to Bugge, is to be derived from the Hildburg of the Wolddietrich saga. Who was Helgi's mother? It has often been pointed out that Sigrlinn and Hjördís have changed places. Sigrlinn corresponds to the German Sigelint, wife of Sigmundr.

<sup>20</sup> See S. Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 137.



But if Sigrínn ought to be wife of Sigmundr and mother of Sigurðr, then presumably Hjórcís ought to be wife of Hjörvarðr and mother of Helgi. This of course identifies our two Helgis at once. And the Eylimi of *HHv* can now no longer be kept apart from Eylimi the father of Hjördís. Hence Sváva must seek a new father, and she finds him in king Svafnir of Svávaland, where she obviously belongs. But if Much is right, Sigrún's epithet *frá Sefafjörðum* refers to the land of the Semnonnes, the Svebi *par excellence*, and Sigrún too comes from Svávaland. The two *valkyrjur* thus become identical, like their lovers the two Helgis. Finally, the Hundings obviously have no business in the *Völsunga*. Their feud is with the Wulfings; more particularly, with Helgi Hundingsbani. They probably made their way into the story of the Völsungs along with their victim Eylimi and his daughter.<sup>80</sup> If so, the Hróðmarr that the first Helgi killed to avenge his grandfather is probably connected with the Hundingr that the second Helgi killed for no reason that is apparent (note that both Hróðmarr and Hundingr have a son Alfr, and that Lyngvi Hundingsson's suit, like Hróðmarr's, is rejected).

Helgi's family, then, is that of Hjörvarðr at Glasislundi. But this character can hardly be separated from Hjörvarðr son of Heiðrekr úlfhamr and grandson of Guðmundr á Glasisvöllum. Helgi thus probably inherited his epithet "ylfingr" from his father, who in turn owed it to his father's ability to shift into the shape of a wolf (whence his nickname "úlfhamr"). The Wulfing tribe presumably got its name from this epithet, properly applicable, at first, perhaps, only to members of the royal family, but easily extended. The royal seat 'at the amber grove' or 'on the amber fields' probably points to a time when the Wulfings (who lived on the Pomeranian coast) participated in the amber trade and profited by it. Such nomenclature, however, could easily be given a mythical interpretation, the fields or groves of amber being put in an earthly paradise, and such an interpretation seems in fact to have been made from an early date.

<sup>80</sup> For Eylimi as victim of the Hundingssynir, see the *Reginsmál*, strophe 15.

The story of Helgi properly begins with the story of Helgi's father Hjörvarðr *alias* Sigmundr. Here the point of primary interest is the manner of the father's death. From the story of the Völsungs we learn that Sigmundr, together with his father-in-law Eylimi, fell at the hands of Lyngvi son of Hund-ingr. Before the fusion of the Helgasaga with the Völsunga-saga this story was doubtless told, not of Sigmundr, but of Hjörvarðr. We may compare the account in the *Ynglingasaga*, where Hjörvarðr ylfingr, together with his father-in-law Gran-marr, fell at the hands of Ingjaldr. This Ingjaldr is identified with the Swedish king of that name, it is true, but from the *Beowulf* we know that Ingeld is a Bardish royal name, and the story seems to be a fragment of a version of the wars between the Wulfings and the Hundings (Bards). In *HHv* Hjörvarðr himself escapes, though his father-in-law falls. His safety perhaps grew out of the mythical characteristics which he had acquired; a ruler of an earthly elysium could hardly be made to die! Bugge has pointed out another factor, viz., the influence of certain Frankish stories on the Northern episode, an influence which shifted the emphasis to Hjörvarðr's wooing. The primitive form of the episode probably ran somewhat as follows: King Hjörvarðr the Wulfing and his father-in-law Eylimi (Granmarr) are slain in battle with the Hundings (Bards), who win a great victory and conquer the whole land of the Wulfings. The leader of the Hundings seems to have had various names in the various versions: Ingjaldr, Hundingr, Hróðmarr, Lyngvi, the Hundingssyrir. The original kingsbane was probably Lyngvi, as we shall see.

Between the first and second episodes we must suppose an interval of many years. During this time the hero, Helgi, is growing up. From the *HH* it is clear that Helgi grew up in obscurity. The country was incorporated in the domains of the Hundings. Much conjectures that Helgi's mother had fallen into the hands of the Bardish king. Certainly Helgi was in the power of his enemy throughout his boyhood, as is to be seen from the opening of *HH 2*. From the statement in the prose of *HHv* that Helgi *sat á haugi* one may legitimately infer that the hero was given the menial task of minding cattle. The inference derives support from the Saxonian story of Regner

(=Helgi), for Regner too appears as a herdsboy. One may cite also the following verses from *HH* 1 (strophe 5):

Bitt var at angri	Ylfinga nið
ok þeirri meyju	er munuð fœddi.

These lines look like a fragment of some version in which Helgi's father was slain by an enemy just after his son's birth (or even before his birth), as Sigmundr was slain in the *Völ-sungasaga*. One may conjecture that mother and child fell into the hands of the conqueror, in whose court Helgi was brought up as a menial.

In the second episode Helgi avenges the slaying of his father and his maternal grandfather. Our accounts of his vengeance are all brief. According to *FHv* he led an expedition against Hröðmarr and slew him. The *Reginsmál* tells us how Sigurðr (i. e., Helgi) fought a great battle against Lyngvi Hundingsson and his brothers, and defeated them. Lyngvi was captured alive, and was put to death by torture (the blood-eagle was cut on him). In the *HH* we learn that Helgi killed Hundingr, and that later, after refusing wergeld to the Hundingsynir, he defeated and slew them in battle. The defeat of the Hundings seems to have been decisive. The division of the struggle into two parts—the slaying of Hundingr and the overthrow of the Hundingsynir—is worthy of special notice.

The third episode is devoted to Helgi's rape of Sigrún. Rape is the right word, for he won the lady by force, willing though she was to become his bride. This episode has been so greatly affected by the Eilðr story that it is hard to determine its original form. In view of the presence of Bardish antagonists like Höðbroddr and Starkaðr, however, we must conclude that the rape was part of the struggle with the Hundings. And if Helgi killed his bride's father in the original tale, we can understand how the Eilðr story gained entry: in both tales the bride has to face the same tragic situation. On the other hand, the romantic motivation (rival suitor, favored by the lady's father; hero favored by the lady) can hardly be primitive, and certainly must be discarded if the father was originally a Hunding along with the hero's other opponents in the rape. Not that we need

eliminate love from the primitive story. The herdsboy of King Hundingr may well have fallen in love with the king's daughter, and she with him; certain details in the *Helgakviður* seem to point in that direction, indeed. But the root of the matter is necessarily the feud between Wulfing and Hunding, and the present episode must go back to that feud along with the rest of the Helgasaga. The rape of Sigrún, then, was originally included in episode two, as given above. Helgi carried off the daughter of Hundingr as part of his scheme of vengeance. His first stroke was his slaying of the father and his rape of the daughter. His second stroke was his overthrow of the sons, who sought in vain to avenge their father's death.

The fourth and last episode records the fall of Helgi at the hands of the avenger. This avenger was naturally a son of the king whom Helgi had slain: in *HHv*, Alfr son of Hróðmarr; in *HH 2*, Dagr son of Högni. We have seen that the name *Högni* came in through contamination with the Hildir story. The name of Högni's avenger, too, is late, as Much has pointed out. Nor have we any evidence that *Hróðmarr* and *Alfr* are names that go back to the primitive form of the tale; they are stock heroic names, with nothing to bind them specifically to our story. The name *Lyngvi*, on the other hand, is highly characteristic and deserves careful examination. I think it can be equated with the Langobardish *Laiamicho*. The Northern equivalent of *Laiamicho* would develop through \**Lāim-* and \**Laim-* to \**Leimke*, whence, with shortening and assimilation, to \**Lenke*. Since the *n* of \**Lenke* was velar, not dental, the native *sprachgefühl* would dictate a (phonetically sound) analysis of the name into a stem \**Leng-* and a diminutive suffix *ke*. Alongside the diminutive \**Lenke*, then, might readily appear an undiminished \**Lenge* (where the *-e* is an ordinary weak ending, added to the abstracted stem \**Leng-*). This \**Lenge* would be considered the original and proper name, whereas \**Lenke* would be looked upon as only a diminutive. By a regular phonetic process \**Lenge* would become \**Linge* in the frequent formula \**Lenge Hundingsson*, where *Hund-* was the significant syllable and consequently would take the main stress.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> See A. Heusler, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch*<sup>2</sup>, § 117.

Finally, by popular etymology \**Linge* would be associated with the word \**lingua* > *lyng* 'ling' whence the extant forms *Lyngvi* (*Reginsmál*) and *Lyngi* (*Völungasaga*).

If *Lyngvi* really was the same person as the *Lamissio* of Paulus, he surely, in the primitive tale, avenged on *Helgi* the death of his father *Hundlingr*, even as *Lamissio* avenged on the *Vulgares* the death of his foster-father *Agelmund*. But in that case, of course, we must assume that the Northern monuments have departed from the original story when they represent *Sigurðr* as slaying *Lyngvi*. This point cannot be settled until we have returned to Paulus, for a time, and to Paulus, accordingly, let us return. The story which he tells, though doubtless closer to history than that preserved in the North, nevertheless cannot safely be taken as so much gospel. The Amazons in particular are obviously an *interpretatio Romana*. We cannot be quite sure what stood in their place in Paulus's source, but in view of *Helg's* woman's clothes, his feminine epithet *Yfinga man* and the *valkyrjur* who aided him in all his incarnations, we have a right to suspect that the Amazons were merely the *Wulfings* in disguise. Paulus seems to have used two sources in compiling his story of *Lamissio*. One of these sources dealt with the youth of the hero, the other with the events immediately preceding and following *Lamissio's* accession to the throne. The latter source, so far as we can tell, was essentially historical. The former, however, bears every sign of poetic elaboration and modification, and this in the direction of the supernatural. Hence the romantic story of the hero's birth, and the equally romantic account of his fight with the leader of the Amazons. The birth story clearly grew out of the hero's name (or rather nickname), which, as we have seen, means 'dog.' Similarly, the Amazons seem to be a poetic modification of the enemies of the Bards. These enemies, the *Wulfings*, might be called *Wulgrigs*, i. e., she-wolf's sons, or, more simply, she-wolves. And by a romantic or mythical development these human she-wolves might be turned into a race of *valkyrjur* or Amazons. Hence Paulus, while he is following one source, uses the term Amazons to denote the enemies of the Langobards; when he uses his other source, he calls these same

enemies Vulgares. The primitive (as distinguished from the Pauline) Langobardish story may therefore be summarized:

1) Agelmund, king of the Langobards (= Hundings), overruns the kingdom of the Wulgings; in the battle which decides the issue, Laiamicho, the young son (or foster-son) of Agelmund, slays the king of the Wulgings. The Langobards (= Hundings) hold for many years the lands thus conquered.

2) The Wulgings rise unexpectedly, slay Agelmund and take captive his daughter. They restore the Wulging kingdom.

3) The Langobards (= Hundings), under Laiamicho, later attack the Wulgings, to take vengeance, but are badly defeated and put to rout.

4) Finally, through the efforts of Laiamicho, they are brought to attack the Wulgings once more, and this time win a decisive victory.

For comparison I offer a summary of the primitive form of the *Helgasaga*:

1) The Hundings (= Langobards) overrun the Wulfing kingdom; in the battle which decides the issue, Lyngvi, son of the Hunding king, kills Hjörvarðr, king of the Wulfings. The Hundings hold for many years the lands thus conquered.

2) Eventually Helgi, son of Hjörvarðr, attacks and kills king Hundingr of the Hundings and captures his daughter. He restores the Wulfing kingdom.

3) The Hundings, under Lyngvi, later attack Helgi, but are badly beaten and Lyngvi himself is killed.

4) Finally Helgi falls at the hands of some son of the king of the Hundings. Thus the Wulfings are finally overthrown.

The chief difference in the two accounts lies in the fact that Helgi is represented as slaying Lyngvi, while according to the Langobardish version Laiamicho survives and wins the final victory. Here, I think, the Northern account has departed

from the primitive story. Otherwise the parallelism is so close that further discussion is hardly needed.

But we have not exhausted our literary material. There is a certain amount of information to be had from the following passage in the English poem *Widsith*:

117 Eadwine sohte ic ond Elsan,      Ægelmund ond Hungar  
    ond þa wloncan gedryht      Wip-Myrginga.

Of the names in this passage, *Eadwine* and *Ægelmund* are to be interpreted with certainty as the English equivalents of the *Audoin* and *Agelmund* of Paulus. Likewise the researches of Much have made it certain that the name *Myrgingas* was a by-name of the Langobards, originally used, it would seem, by their enemies, as a contemptuous epithet, but later dignified into a title of honor, as so often happens with nicknames.<sup>32</sup> I have nothing new to offer on the name *Elsa*, but I certainly agree with Chambers when he says,<sup>33</sup> "Coming between *Eadwine* and *Ægelmund*, *Elsa* ought to be the name of a Lombard hero."<sup>34</sup> There remains *Hungar*. The name is usually equated with that of Attila's interpreter Onegesius. This interpreter is known to us from Priscus and from a passage in the *Acta Sanctorum*.<sup>35</sup> Priscus calls him Ὀνηγύσιος and gives him a brother Σκόρτας. In the *Acta Sanctorum* his name appears in the (Latinized) Frankish spelling *Hunigaisius* (where the *h* is unorganic, as often, if we may judge from the Greek). From the spellings we may conclude that the third vowel in the interpreter's name was a long open *e*. This would be represented in Greek by an *η*, of course. Among the Franks the sound would become an *ā*, in accordance with the familiar West Germanic sound-change. The neatness of the correspondence between the Greek and Frankish spellings forbids emendation to *\*Hunagaisus*, of course, and prevents us from taking the name to be Germanic. Moreover, the name of the interpreter's brother is not only un-Germanic in itself, but has no formal relation of any kind to the name of the interpreter, whether by alliteration or by composition. The

<sup>32</sup> *ZfdA* LXII 122 ff., 143 ff.

<sup>33</sup> *Widsith* p. 220 note sv.

<sup>34</sup> See my discussion, *PMLA* XL 798.

<sup>35</sup> Bibliography in Chambers, *Widsith* pp. 220 f.

Germanicism of Onegesius is thus more than doubtful. In my opinion Hodgkin was right in supposing that the interpreter of Attila was a Hun. The *-si-* spelling is best interpreted, with Hodgkin, as equivalent to Modern English *sh*, and the name is best englished as *Onégash*.

But who was Hungar? The position of his name in a passage devoted to the Langobards gives us a right to look for him in Paulus, and we find him, I think, in Agelmund's successor Lamicho. The *Hungar* of the text I derive phonetically from an earlier *\*Hundgar* 'dog-spear,'<sup>36</sup> and find in the name a reflexion of the birth-story of Lamicho. The spear which the king stuck into the fish-pond, and which the infant hero with so opportune an inspiration grasped, here reappears; and as for 'dog,' the appositeness of that name is by now sufficiently clear. The English name of the hero thus reflects the circumstances of his birth, even more completely than the name which has come down to us through Langobardish tradition. Naturally both are nicknames, but they will have to do us, since the true name has not survived.—Bruckner points out that the birth-story which Paulus attaches to Lamicho appears in Agnellus attached to the Langobardish king Aistulf or Astulf.<sup>37</sup> He explains the transfer as due to the first element *ast-* 'stick' of the king's name; this name-element was associated with the stick or spear in the story. To this the English form of the name affords a good parallel.

When did Agelmund and Lamicho live? We have seen that they could not have flourished later than the beginning of the fifth century. But there is nothing to prevent us from making them much earlier. Between the dynasties of the Gugings and the Lethings a long series of kings may have reigned, for aught we know. Paulus and his sources may have closed the gap without warning us of the fact, or they may have said nothing because, like us, they knew nothing. The first king of the Langobards, and his immediate successor, were clearly famous in story, and their names and deeds were preserved in memory. But a long line of inglorious kings may have followed, whose very names perished. Indeed, in Elsa we probably have a king

<sup>36</sup> For the OE loss of *d* between *n* and *g*, see K. Bülbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch* § 533.

<sup>37</sup> Bruckner, pp. 23 f. and p. 337.



remembered among the English but forgotten by his own people. And surely his was not the only name that tradition failed to preserve.

For our chronology, then, we must turn elsewhere. And in fact we find a clue in the Northern monuments. These represent the wars between Hunding and Wulfing as taking place on the Baltic and its hinterland. We must therefore conclude that the historical events out of which the stories grew took place before the southward migration of the Langobards. The date of this migration is itself a matter of dispute, and into this dispute it is not my purpose to enter. But if it took place in the latter half of the second century, as it may have done,<sup>88</sup> then the story of Agelmund and Lamicho is an old story indeed, perhaps the oldest that has come down to us from Germanic antiquity.

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<sup>88</sup> See Hodgkin V 88 f.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF *AUGUSTIOR* AS APPLIED TO  
HERCULES AND TO ROMULUS: A NOTE ON  
LIVY I, 7, 9<sup>1</sup> AND I, 8, 9.<sup>1</sup>

Livy I, 7, 9-10: Evander . . . . . habitum formamque viri  
aliquantum ampliorem *augustiolemque* humana intuens  
rogitat, qui vir esset. Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam  
accepit, "Iove nate, Hercules, salve" inquit; "te mihi  
mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium nu-  
merum cecinit tibiue aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulen-  
tissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu  
colat."

I, 8, 2: (Romulus) cum cetero habitu se *augustiolem*, tum  
maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit.

The use of *augustus* (even though it be in the comparative degree) by Livy at this point in his narrative does not seem accidental. A little further on<sup>2</sup> (19, 4) Numa's building of the Janus causes a reference to the first closing of it by Caesar *Augustus*. This dates the writing of Book I between 27 B. C. when the title Augustus was taken, and 25 B. C. when the Janus was closed a second time. So the title was very new.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Lily Ross Taylor, in her admirable article "Livy and the Name Augustus," *C. R.* 32 (1918), pp. 158-161, has handled a good deal of the same material, as of course every one must who deals with the title Augustus. She does not, however, refer to the Romulus passage, Livy I, 8, 2. It is the object of my paper to point out just this collocation of Hercules and Romulus, two prototypes of Augustus, by the application to each of the epithet *augustior*, strategically placed a few chapters before Numa's construction of the Janus enables Livy to name Augustus himself with perfect naturalness. It seems to me that this arrangement throws a light on Livy's literary methods: and this I have tried to bring out in the course of my paper. So I have not made any attempt to avoid quoting the same authorities as Professor Taylor, when they are essential to my purpose. I have not even abbreviated my quotations from Dr. Warde Fowler and Professor Conway, referred to by her more succinctly, as they have an intimate connection with my argument.

<sup>2</sup> Under the reign of Numa, also of course a type of Augustus as religious reformer and above all as giver of peace.

Now Hercules is taken by Horace also as a prototype of Augustus—as a hero who attained divinity by his own good deeds:<sup>3</sup>

Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules  
Ensis arces at-igit igneas  
Quos inter Augustus recumbens  
Purpure bibit ore nectar.<sup>4</sup>

This ode likewise is usually dated 27 B. C.

Livy in the same passage (I, 7, 15) makes Romulus select Hercules for special worship: *haec tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, iam tum immortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua facta augebant, fautor*. In the following sentence, the second passage quoted above, Romulus is said to have made himself *Augustiorem* by taking the twelve lictors. He himself also is a prototype of Augustus, cp. Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 7: *deinde Augusti cognomen assumpsit, . . . . Munati Planci sententia, cum, quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, praevaluisset ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine*. Also Florus, 4, 12, 66: *tractatum etiam in senatu, an quia condidisset imperium, Romulus vocaretur; sed sanctius et reverentius visum est nomen Augusti, ut scilicet iam tum, dum colit terras, ipso nomine et titulo consecraretur*. Cp. too Dio, who says (53, 16) that Augustus received the title *ὡς πλείον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὢν*.

It is highly probable that Augustus, among other good reasons against taking the title Romulus, remembered how it had been applied to Julius Caesar in bitterest invective by Catullus (29, lines 5, 9). Ellis, *ad loc.*, gives other examples of an uncomplimentary use of the name: *Romule Arpinas*, of Cicero, ascribed to Sallust and quoted by Quintilian (9, 3, 89); *scaevos iste Romulus*, of Sulla, in a fragment of Sallust's Histories (I, 4, 45); and of Pompey in Plutarch (*Pomp.* 25). During the debate on the Gabinian Law Pompey was warned by the consul, *ὅτι Ῥωμόλον ζηλῶν οὐ φέρεται τῷ τὸν ἐκείνου τέλος*. Here of course the allusion is to the other story of Romulus' end, preserved by

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Cicero, *Tusc.* I, 14, 32, *abii ad deos Hercules; numquam abisset, nisi, cum inter homines esset, eam sibi viam munivisset*.

<sup>4</sup> *Odes*, 3, 3, 9-12.

Livy as well as the one of the apotheosis, and obviously the one accepted by himself. In strictness, of course, Romulus, the warrior, does correspond to Julius, and Numa, the peace-giver, to Augustus, but, as we see from the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, as well as from Vergil and Horace, Augustus liked to be regarded also as a great warrior. I think that Livy, when writing of the scene *in campo* (*i. e.*, the *Campus Martius*) where Romulus (according to the second story) perished *discerptum . . . patrum manibus*, had in mind the other scene in Pompey's theatre nearly 700 years later, when Julius Caesar was killed by men of senatorial rank. At Romulus' death the State, *solicita . . . desiderio regis et infensa patribus*, was finally relieved by the story of his apotheosis,—*mirum . . . quam . . . desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immortalitatis lenitum sit* (Livy, I, 16, 5-8; cp. Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 88: *periit . . . atque in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium sed et persuasione volgi. Siquidem ludis, quos primos consecrato ei heres Augustus edebat, stella crinita per septem continuos dies fulsit, exoriens circa undecimam horam; creditumque est animam esse Caesaris in cælum recepti; et hac de causa simulacro eius in vertice additur stella*).

Ellis in the same note on Catullus, 29, 5, quotes Livy, 5, 49, 7: (Camillus) *inter iocos militares quos inconditos<sup>5</sup> iaciunt Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur*—doubtless the same passage to which Munro<sup>6</sup> refers in his note on *fescennina iocatio*. He quotes Dio Cassius (43, 20) to show how Caesar enjoyed these freedoms of his soldiers and suggests that in the announcement of the thanksgiving of twenty days on the invasion of Britain, Julius had been styled a second Romulus, *unicus imperator*, both epithets satirised by Catullus in this poem. This is of course conjectural, as is my guess that Livy had in mind the jests of Caesar's soldiers when he tells of those at Camillus' triumph.

Livy says nothing of Numa's death; Plutarch states that he died of old age. Augustus perhaps hoped (as indeed it came to

<sup>5</sup> Cp. *Carmina incondita* of the soldiers of Cossus, Livy, 4, 20, 2, quoted on p. 353.

<sup>6</sup> *Criticisms and elucidations of Catullus*, pp. 78, 91.

pass) that he would follow his example in this as well as in closing the Janus. Horace's prayer would suit this very well—

Serus in caelum redeas diuque  
Laetus intersis populo Quirini.<sup>7</sup>

To return to *augustus*, the dictionaries say that the word does not occur in Horace: but Norden, commenting on *Aeneid* 6, 792,

Augustus Caesar<sup>8</sup> d. vi genus, aurea condet<sup>9</sup>  
Saecula qui rursus

thinks that both here and in *Aeneid* 8, 678, and also in Horace, *Odes* 2, 9, 18-20:

et potius nova  
Caeremus *Augusti*<sup>10</sup> tropaea  
Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten,

the word was still felt as an appellative.

Following Norden, Dr. Warde Fowler<sup>11</sup> proposed to read *augustus* in *Aeneid* viii. 673: Hinc *augustus* agens Italos in proelia Caesar, "as an adjective and not as a name. It is too far away from Caesar in the line; and the name Augustus was not assumed until more than three years after the battle of Actium, i. e., in January 27 B. C. Virgil does not use Augustus as a name in the *Georgics*: the hero is simply Caesar. Now if, as Nettleship suggested, this part of the Shield was in its original form written for another poem soon after the battle, the word may have been placed where it is simply to give religious colouring to the whole passage, which it does most effectively." He further suggests that "this line may in fact have been respon-

<sup>7</sup> *Odes* 1, 2, 45-46.

<sup>8</sup> It is worth noting that just above (777 ff.) Romulus is referred to:

quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet  
Romulus . . . . .

et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore

—is this intended to suggest Julius Caesar and Augustus?—and just below (801 ff.) Hercules is mentioned,

nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit (i. e., as Augustus).

<sup>9</sup> He compares this with Suetonius' reference to Augustus as the second *conditor urbis*.

<sup>10</sup> For the order *Augustus Caesar* in these passages see note 17, below.

<sup>11</sup> "Aeneas at the Site of Rome," pp. 111-112.

sible for the adoption of the famous name. If Caesar knew the passage, he must have instantly seen how well suited to his policy the epithet was."

As I believe, and have tried to indicate reasons for my belief,<sup>12</sup> that books vii-viii were the first part of the *Aeneid* composed by Vergil and were begun immediately after the *Georgics* were finished in B. C. 29, I could suppose that the line influenced the *princeps* in his choice of title even without Nettleship's suggestion.

Dr. Warde Fowler further went on to quote Professor Conway's approval of the suggestion to read *augustus* here as an adjective, and his reminder that "*augustus* in this picture probably represents a physical (but of course significant) largeness of the figure in the representation, like the figures of the chiefs in the Shield of Achilles:

Καλὸν καὶ μεγάλῳ σὺν τεύχεσιν ὥς τε θεῶ περ,  
'Αμφὶς ἀριζήλῳ· λαοὶ δ' ἐπ' ἐλίζοντες ἦσαν

—just as *arduus agmen agens* of Agrippa, a few lines farther on, represents his outstanding position high on the poop of the Admiral's ship. The adjective in both places is exactly the right part of speech. The connection with *augeo*, always present, and paralleled by the far more than physical meaning of *auctus* (*honoribus*, etc.) preserved the original notion of greatness, physical and other, which is that of the Vedic *ojas*, neuter substantive, identical letter for letter with Latin *augus*."

It is perhaps worth noting, in view of this relation to *augeo*,<sup>12a</sup> that Livy immediately after applying the word *augustior* to Hercules in our first passage, continues with the words, *te . . . aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit*, as if to suggest an etymology. Cp. his use of *fero* throughout the passage about Juppiter Feretrius (1, 10, 5-7), and of *sisto* in the Juppiter Stator passage (1, 12, 5-8). In our second passage he applies the word *augustior* to Romulus, and in the next sentence rejects

<sup>12</sup> "An Attempt to Date the Composition of *Aeneid* vii," *C. Q.* X (1916), 87-96.

<sup>12a</sup> Since writing this paper I have seen Ehrenberger's article in *Klio* (19 [1925] pp. 189-213) on the *Morumentum Antioctenum*, in which he points out the significance of the reading *auuctoritate* for *dignitate* of *Mon. Ancy.* c. 34.

on historical grounds the theory that he adopted the number twelve "ab numero *avium*, quæ *augurio* regnum portenderant." May he not also have been smelly rejecting the other etymology of *Augustus*?

Ovid ends the well-known passage, *Fasti* I, 605-612, always quoted on the word *augustus*, with the lines (611-612):

huius et *augurium* lependet origine verbi  
et quodcumque sua Iuppiter *auget* ope,

i. e., he gives the reader his choice of the two etymologies of the word, just as Propertius<sup>13</sup> does for Feretrius; whereas Livy more artistically makes his chosen etymology for Feretrius clear by his use of various parts of *fero* (*ferculo* . . . *Feretri* . . . *fero* . . . *ferent* . . . *laturus*). Except in these two passages, *Aeneid* vi, 792; viii, 678, where Augustus is directly referred to, Vergil only uses the word *augustus* twice (if we read *angustam* in *Georgics* iv. 228<sup>14</sup>) both times in book vii (which I regard as early in composition) in passages within 20 lines of each other referring to the royal city and palace of Latinus, a predecessor of Augustus:

(153) Centum oratores *angusta* ad moenia regis  
ire iubet.

(170) Tectum *augustum*, ingens, centum sublime columnis  
urbe fuit summa, Laurentis regia Pici.

Note the solemn spondees in both lines, and the repetition of *centum*.

Livy uses *augustus*<sup>15</sup> thirteen times in all. In five of these cases he employs the superlative, four times for temples and

<sup>13</sup> iv, 10, 45-8 (*ferio*, *fero*).

<sup>14</sup> Here *sedem angustam* (of the hive) may really have been what Vergil wrote in mock-heroic style, and later when the adjective became charged with its special meaning it may have changed it to *angustam*. This gives a plausible reason for the variation in the MSS, though perhaps it is hardly needed, in view of Juvenal X, 93:

principis *angusta* Capæearum in rupe sedentis,

where most editors read *angusta* in spite of *angusta* of P. It is curious that *angustus* and *augustus* are the only two Latin words ending in *-gustus*. *Angustus* occurs 17 times in Vergil; see Wetmore's Index.

<sup>15</sup> See Fügner, *Lexicon Livianum*.

once for a sacred garment (3, 17, 5; 5, 41, 2; 38, 13, 1; 42, 3, 6; 42, 12, 6). In six cases he has the comparative.<sup>16</sup> Two of these are the passages under discussion; a third describes Decius as he rushed into the battle devoting himself to death, aliquanto *augustior* humano visu (8, 9, 10); another, a supernatural vision (8, 6, 9); another, the Roman Senate in the eyes of the invading Gauls (5, 41, 2). The sixth instance is in *praefatio* 7, Datur haec venia antiquitati ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium *augustiora* faciat, which is particularly apposite. Livy is telling us in so many words that it is to this mixture of the human and divine that *augustior* may properly be applied. Twice Livy uses the positive *augustus*: once of the temples of Alba Longa (1, 29, 5), and once of the soil of Delos (45, 5, 3).

Three times Livy refers to Augustus by name. The first reference occurs in the passage referred to at the beginning of this paper, the closing of the Janus: quod nostrae aetati di dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum et imperatore Caesare Augusto<sup>17</sup> pace terra marique parata (1, 19, 3).

The second reference is found in the famous passage about the corselet of Cossus (4, 20):<sup>18</sup> longe maximum triumphi spectaculum fuit Cossus, spolia opima regis interfecti gerens: in eum milites carmina incondita aequantes eum Romulo canere. Spolia in aede Iovis Feretri prope Romuli spolia quae, prima opima appellata, sola ea tempestate erant, cum sollemni dedi-

<sup>16</sup> Five of these (omitting the Romulus passage 1, 8, 2) are those referred to by Professor Taylor in her article *loc. cit.* as contrasting *augustus* and *humanus*. I agree with her that it is significant that all these occur in the first decade, though for aught we know there may have been others in the second decade. But it should also be noticed that the expression is most likely to be used of something supernatural, and this element is naturally more prominent in the earlier part of the history. If the epitomator is a safe guide, Book 134 was half filled with the adoption of the title Augustus. Doubtless Livy in his grand style gave an account of the proposals in the Senate referred to by Suetonius, Dio and the others.

<sup>17</sup> Augustus Caesar is the normal order, as in the two remaining references in Livy. See Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, pt. 2, p. 298.

<sup>18</sup> This episode has been dealt with from quite another angle by Professor Conway in "The Venetian Point of View in Roman History."



catione dono fixit. . . . Omnes ante me auctores secutus, A. Cornelium Cossum tribunum militum secunda spolia opima Iovis Feretri templo intulisse exposui: ceterum, praeterquam quod ea rite opima spolia habentur, quae dux duci detraxit *nec ducem novimus nisi cuius auspicio bellum geritur*, titulus ipse spoliis inscriptus illos neque arguit consulem ea Cossum cepisse. Hoc ego cum Augustum Caesarem, templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem, ingressum aedem Feretri Iovis quam vetustate dilapsam refecit, se ipsum in thorace linteo scriptum legisse audissem, prope sacrilegium ratus sum Cossu spoliis suorum Caesarem, ipsius templi auctorem, subtrahere testem.<sup>19</sup>

Dessau<sup>20</sup> followed by Rosenberg<sup>21</sup> calls attention to the connection of this with a burning question of the day. In 27 B. C. the proconsul M. Licinius Crassus had a triumph granted for his conquests, in one of which he had killed the chief of the Bastarnae with his own hand; and he wanted to dedicate the *spolia opima* to Iuppiter Feretrius. But Augustus said that the proconsul had no independent command, but had fought under the auspices of Caesar, whereas only the supreme commander could dedicate the *spolia opima*. However, the precedent of Cossus was awkward, as he was a military tribune when he dedicated the spoils. Thus the discovery of the corselet was very convenient for Augustus' theory. He personally communicated his discovery to Livy, and the historian did not hesitate to publish it, giving the reference to his illustrious authority.<sup>22</sup> Livy's words in § 6 may be especially noticed—*nec ducem novimus nisi cuius auspicio bellum geritur*; cp. *Mon. Ancy.* c. 4 *ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspiciis meis*; c. 26 *meo iussu et auspicio*; c. 30 *meis auspiciis*; also Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 21 with Shuckburgh's note *ad loc.* This is not the

<sup>19</sup> It is perhaps worth while to note that Augustus is here called *testis* for Cossus, while just below (§ 11) we have (Cossus) *Iovem . . . Romulumque intuens, haud sperandos falsi tituli testes*, i. e., another linking of Augustus and Romulus.

<sup>20</sup> *Hermes* 41 (1906), 142 ff. See Dio 51, 23-27.

<sup>21</sup> *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur Römischen Geschichte*, pp. 145-147.

<sup>22</sup> Rosenberg thinks Books 1-3 appeared in B. C. 27, Book 4 at latest in B. C. 25. He notes that as Livy was already known to Augustus his fame as a historian must have been established by this time.

only passage in which Livy is clearly referring to a burning question of the day.<sup>23</sup> The great speech of Camillus in Book 5 is perhaps the most striking instance. Much remains to be done in this field. Norden<sup>24</sup> says that the speeches in Livy have not been nearly sufficiently examined either on the side of their technique or of their content.

Dessau in his brilliant article seems to have been the first to point out the connection between Livy's account of Cossus and the triumph of Crassus in 27 B. C.; but it seems to me that neither he nor Rosenberg takes the right view of Livy's attitude towards the story of the corselet. Surely Livy has very carefully guarded himself against expressing belief in the corselet and its inscription. He says that he had heard Augustus say that he had read it; and every careful reader of Livy is familiar with his habit of relating the miraculous or matters otherwise doubtful in *oratio obliqua* or on the authority of some one else (like Herodotus). He states at first that he is following all the authorities in making Cossus a military tribune and he twice expressly leaves the matter open to discussion—*quis ea in re sit error . . . existimatio communis est* (§ 8); *ea libera coniectura est* (§ 11). There may even be an *innuendo* in *haud spernendos falsi tituli testes*. One may wonder, too, if an inscription on a *thorax linteus* could be legible after 400 years; and if it was legible, whether it was in characters that Augustus could read. Dessau does not give a definite pronouncement on this. Rosenberg boldly says "Der Panzer, nebst seiner famosen Inschrift, ist ein Phantasieprodukt."<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, I think Livy was willing to give publicity to Augustus' statement about the

<sup>23</sup> Dessau (*loc. cit.*, p. 150, n. 3) notes that Livy in the words he puts in Romulus' mouth as he dedicates the *spolia opima* (1, 10, 6) is alluding already to the episode of Crassus—*haec tibi . . . rex regia arma fero*. His emphasis on the fact that the spoils had only been dedicated twice might be noted also, *adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit*.

<sup>24</sup> *Einleitung*, I, p. 511; also Rosenberg, *loc. cit.* Cp., too, Dr. Walter Leaf's brilliant article (*Journ. of Phil.* 34, 68 [1918], pp. 283-289) on Horace *Odes* 1, 14 and 15, which he takes to have been written in B. C. 31-30, referring to Augustus' supposed intention of moving the capital to the East.

<sup>25</sup> Note that this would relieve Livy from the opprobrium cast upon him by editors and others (e. g. Dimsdale, *Latin Literature*, pp. 352-3) because he did not go to see the corselet for himself.

corselet. He quite clearly shows his approbation of the *consilium* of Iulius Proculus in relating his vision of the deified Romulus; and he is still more outspoken about Numa's supposed marriage with a goddess: "(Numa) deorum metum iniciendum (sc. multitudinis animis) ratus est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo *comenien* miraculi non posset, *simulat* sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse" (1, 19, 5). This follows immediately after the building of the Janus by Numa, and the reference to the closing of it by Augustus. It is very instructive for an understanding of Livy's point of view to note that the sainted priest-king himself was quite aware of the deception. He did it from the loftiest motives and with great success—*deorum . . . cura et pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac ius iurandum . . . civitatem regerent* (1, 21, 1).

There can be no doubt that Livy, during the writing of the first decade at any rate, gave a general approval to the policy of Augustus, though perhaps less warmly than either Horace or Vergil. We know from Tacitus (*Ann.* 4, 34, 4) that he did not conceal his political views from Augustus, and it is probable that the *princeps* also knew of his attitude towards the miraculous.<sup>26</sup>

The third reference to Augustus in Livy is in 28, 12, 9: (Hispania) . . . . . nostra demum aetate, ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris, perdomita est. This is usually supposed to have been written after 19 B. C., when the conquest was completed by Agrippa, *auspicio* as opposed to *ductu* implying that Augustus was not present in person, as in Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 21: "Dormuit autem partim ductu partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam" (the passage referred to above). I am inclined to wonder whether the perfunctoriness of this reference to Augustus, so different from the passages in books i and iv, may not indicate

<sup>26</sup> O. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, 398, defends the good faith of Augustus. He thinks the Emperor himself was deceived. The inscription, even if it did not go back to the time of Cossus, would have belonged to a period when the consonants were not doubled, and the nominative of the second declension ended in -o. So the name would have appeared as COSSO, and if the last letter was damaged, Augustus might have thought it was the abbreviation for Consul.

This does not seem very plausible, as in this case the name of Cossus would not have been there at all for Augustus to see.

some disillusion on Livy's part and a waning of his enthusiasm, if so strong a word should be used, for the new régime.

Propertius iv, 6, 23 writes (of the battle of Actium) :

hinc Augusta ratis plenis Iovis omine velis,

which Professor H. E. Butler *ad loc.* translates "The ship of Augustus," and says that "this seems to be the earliest instance of the adjective (as distinct from the proper name) used with special reference to the *princeps*." He dates the poem 16 B. C.

It is unnecessary to refer to the numerous examples of this last use in Ovid, as they are not germane to the present enquiry, the object of which is to argue that in the two passages under discussion the word *augustior* as applied to Hercules and to Romulus was definitely intended to suggest Augustus, who was constantly being compared to both of these heroes. It may be noted that Augustus was Consul in 27 B. C., and in the four following years, and so was accompanied by the lictors, as instituted by Romulus, at the time Livy was writing this passage. I think also that the examination of the use of the word in Livy and in Vergil, and the fact of the absence of it in Horace except as the name or at any rate the epithet of the *princeps* himself, make it clear that these three authors, who so well knew Augustus and his wishes, felt that it could be used only of sacred places or things (as in Cicero), or, if applied to men, could be used only of demi-gods or heroes. So Livy in these two closely associated passages uses *augustior* of Hercules and Romulus—Romulus who was Octavian's first choice for his name-title, if we may believe Dio,<sup>27</sup> ὁ Κεῖσας ἐπεθόμει μὲν ἰσχυρῶς Ῥωμύλος ὀνομασθῆναι, and Hercules whom Romulus selected as his own example and whom both Horace and Vergil take in so many words (see above) as the prototype of Augustus. The historian's method is more subtle.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> 53, 16.

<sup>28</sup> This article was read by title at the meeting of the American Philological Association, Dec. 30, 1924.

## THE ALLEGED AVARICE OF SOPHOCLES.

The passage in Aristophanes, *Pax*, 695-9:

EP. *πρῶτον εἴ οἱ τι πράττει Σοφοκλῆς ἀνήρετο.*

TP. *εὐδαιμονεῖ· πάσχει δὲ θανάστον.*

EP. τὸ τί;

TP. *ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίγνεται Σιμωνίδης.*

EP. *Σιμωνίδης; πῶς;*

TP. *ἦ-ι γέρων ὦν καὶ σαπρὸς*

*κέρδους ἕκατι κἔν ἐπὶ ῥίπῃς πλέοι,*

with the implied charge of avarice, has been a puzzle ever since the days of the scholiasts. These clearly had no authentic tradition but talk vaguely about taking pay for poetry,<sup>1</sup> or about graft during the poet's command at Samos (441-39 B. C.), an event, however, which was too remote in time, for Eirene is asking about news since her disappearance in disgust after the outbreak of the war, more particularly after the negotiations for peace after Pylos failed in 425 B. C. (ll. 665 ff.), and this play dates from 422. The modern biographers, commentators, and translators (at least the two dozen or more whom I stopped to look up, from Kuster to Coulon) have nothing more plausible to offer,<sup>2</sup> and yet the reason is not, I think, far to seek.

There is no little bitterness in this play against the war-

<sup>1</sup> Adequately dealt with by Van Leeuwen, *Mnem.* 20 (1892), 218 f., although accepted by Lessing, and occasionally re-echoed since.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known difficulties of his extreme old age (*Vita* 13, with notes 55-62 in the edition of Jean-Michaelis—but this was seventeen years before his death) about which Kuster and others after him have hinted, were not yet upon him, although these, since they clearly have to do with property, support directly the inference from the present passage about the poet's very considerable wealth. On the details of the trial with Iophon see O. Hense, *Studien zu Sophokles* (Leipzig 1880), 289-310. Besides *εὐδαιμονεῖ* (693) is quite incompatible with family troubles, but *εὐδαιμον* and its derivatives are among the commonest designations for 'wealthy,' etc. H. Müller-Strübing, *Neue Jahrb.* 141 (1890), 529, thought bribery was charged, but I see nothing to suggest that.—Van Leeuwen's rather bold hypotheses (*Mnem.* 20 (1892), 217-23) have been recanted by their author himself (on *Pax* 697-9, p. 112, n. 2).

profiteers, especially the makers of munitions, whose wealth, derived from big profits in a thriving business, had made them the object of the poet's scorn. Thus at 545 a crest-maker tears his hair at the prospect of peace, and at 543-7 a dealer in pitchforks insults a sword-cutler. At 1199 ff. a sickle-maker, who previously couldn't sell his wares for a collybus is now charging 50 drachmas apiece (profiteering with a vengeance, but the shoe is on the other foot!), while the cask-maker is selling casks for 3 drachmas each. At 1211 a ruined crest-maker appears, whose "trade and living" have been "destroyed," and with him is a spear-burnisher. At 1224 a breast-plate-seller is insulted for his laments over the loss of his market, at 1240 a trumpeter, at 1250 a helmet-seller, and at 1262 the spear-burnisher again. This raillery at the munition-makers is, therefore, one of the conspicuous features of the play.

Now Sophillus, the father of Sophocles, was by class a τέκτων or χαλκεύς (Aristoxenus), specifically a μαχαίρποιός (Istrus), or manufacturer of knives and swords.<sup>3</sup> Such a trade was no doubt lucrative at all times during the fifth century at Athens, and especially so, we can be certain, since the outbreak of the war nine years before the presentation of the *Peace*, when Sophocles himself, who was then either sixty-four or sixty-six years of age, must surely be thought of as having succeeded to the general administration of the business. At a moment, therefore, of general bitterness at the war profiteers, Sophocles the prosperous sword-manufacturer (εὐδαιμονεῖ), comes in together with the rest of the munition-makers for a curt filip.<sup>4</sup> He must have been opposed to the demand for peace<sup>5</sup> and in favor of what Aristophanes regarded as a reckless, that is 'bitter-end' war policy.

<sup>3</sup> Vita 1. A. Schöll, *Sophokles, Sein Leben und Wirken* (Frankfurt a. M. 1842), 20-21, suggests not unplausibly that the trade of iron-worker or bronze-founder was practised from of old in the ancestral deme of Colonus.

<sup>4</sup> The dictum that Aristophanes never criticised Sophocles requires a little qualification. See W. J. Hickie's translation, I, p. 195, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> So Müller-Strübing, l. c., and Van Leeuwen, *ad loc.* Whether with the phrase ἐπὶ ριπῆς, a pun on *μυροκλινδύς* (a word not preserved, however, from any comic poet), may have been intended, as Van Leeuwen would seem to suggest, need not be decided.

It is noteworthy, perhaps, that of the three immortal poets at Athens who lived through the Peloponnesian war, the two who felt the utmost moral aversion to war, Aristophanes and Euripides, although they agreed on scarcely any other point, were landowners, and must have been almost ruined by the devastation of the country. The other, Sophocles, who seems never to have had a twinge of moral compunction about war, and was in fact so 'cheerful' in this world that he was thought even to have carried the mood with him into the next (*Frogs*, 82), shared the inner councils of the government and the war party, and was a prominent munition-maker. It is relatively easy for the average man to identify right and wrong with his own interests; but if such minds and characters as these may be thus swayed, how can one envisage the masses of mankind as being moved in large political decisions by anything but material considerations?

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## HYPERBOLE IN MYTHOLOGICAL COMPARISONS.

Though it is true that in a certain sense there is hyperbole in all mythological comparisons, it is not often that the exaggeration in declaring a mortal equal to a god seems apparent to the mind of the writer. Only occasionally does the poet soften the extravagance of the statement by saying that the musician is second only to Pan or that his lady vies with Aphrodite (Theoc. I, 3; Apoll. *Arg.* III, 1107). In Lucian's *ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰκόνων*, to be sure, the subject of his panegyric says that she is displeased at being compared with Hera and Aphrodite, since such comparisons are too high for womankind and make her fear that she may suffer the fate of Cassiopeia. But such an objection can hardly be sincere, for, from the time of Homer on, the poets had praised mortals by likening them to gods in prowess and beauty. It was most natural, after comparisons of this sort had become trite and commonplace, to take a further step. It was no longer enough to say that a woman was as fair as Aphrodite or a man as strong as Heracles but, to be suitably praised, the woman must be called more beautiful than Aphrodite and the man stronger than Heracles. Here indeed there seemed occasionally to be more of a feeling that this was a form of disrespect to the gods and even impiety. Was it not a μέγα ἔτος and might not such boastfulness bring down the wrath of the gods? The stories of Niobe, Cassiopeia, Arachne, and Marsyas show the prevalence of such popular feeling. Apollonius of Rhodes apologizes for doubting the power of a god by saying that not even Paeon could cure a man of the serpent's poison εἴ μοι θέμις ἀμφαδὸν εἰπεῖν (*Arg.* IV, 1511). The same hesitation on religious grounds is seen in Catullus LI—

ille mi par esse deo videtur  
ille, si fas est, superare divos.

Lucian *ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰκόνων* § 19 defends himself from the charge of impiety of this sort by quoting lines from Simonides—

οὐδὲ Πολυδέκεος βία  
ἀντέλναιτ' ἂν αὐτῷ  
ἐναντίας χέρας οὐδὲ σιδάρεον  
Ἀλκμήνης τέκος.



He goes on to say that though the poet made him not only equal but superior to the gods, Glaucus did not object, and no judgment was sent on either the athlete or the poet for his irreverence, but both continued to be honored in Greece. But this defense, like the objection that called it forth, cannot be taken seriously, for, whatever religious feeling may have been connected with it at one time, by Lucian's time a mythological comparison of this sort must have become so much of a literary commonplace that all relation to religion had been forgotten.

Fraenkel in his article "Plautinisches im Plautus" (*Phil. Untersuch.* XXVIII) points out the fact that Plautus uses a great many mythological comparisons in which the mortal is declared superior to the god. Noting their number and the extravagance of their language, he shows that there is a decided contrast in this respect between the plays of Plautus, on the one hand, and the plays of Menander, the other fragments of New Comedy and the plays of Terence, on the other hand. In contrast with Plautus, these plays have comparatively few mythological comparisons of any kind and "Es fehlt jede Spur von der Skurrilität der superlativischen Verknüpfungen, die für Plautus charakteristisch ist" (p. 13). His conclusion, then, is that everything of this sort in Plautus is the invention of Plautus and has no background as such in the Greek original. For instance, he says specifically, in regard to *Persa* 1, 2,

qui amans egens ingressus est princeps in amoris vias  
superavit aerumnis suis aerumnas Herculi,

"Nur der Gedanke von Vers 1 entspricht dem Beginn des attischen Gedichts, Herakles kam dort überhaupt nicht vor." With this as a criterion he labels as purely Plautine in some cases single lines, in others longer passages. But before accepting this as infallible proof, let us consider the way in which comparisons of this sort are used by other Greek and Latin writers.

In Homer, since the form of mythological comparison in which a mortal is merely likened to a god has not yet become trite or commonplace, the next step by which a mortal is made superior to a god or hero has not yet been taken. Still, even in Homer, the prudence of Penelope is stressed by saying that she is superior in this respect to the earlier heroines, Tyro, Alcmena and Mycene (*Od.* II, 120). The arrogance and impiety of the

Cyclops is brought out by the statement, "We pay no heed to aegis-bearing Zeus nor to the blessed gods, because we are much stronger than they" (*Od.* IX, 275 f.).

In one of the earliest lyric poets, Tyrtæus, this form of comparison is found fully developed as a supposition, if not as a fact. He says that he would not praise a man who did not have courage in battle, not even if he had the strength of Cyclops and could surpass Boreas in running: οὐδ' εἰ Τιθωνοῖο φθὴν χαρίεστερος εἴη, | πλαντοίῃ δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρῳ μάλιον, | οὐδ' εἰ Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος βασιλεύτερος εἴη (*Bergk* frg. 12, 5-8). A fragment of Alcaeus has the words Ἄρεος στρατιωτέροισ (*Bergk*, 29). The fragment from Simonides' panegyric of a boxer has already been quoted. Pindar, though he uses occasionally a mythological comparison in his eulogies, never ventures to say that a mortal is greater than a god, a restraint fully in keeping with his reverent attitude towards the gods.

An examination of the dramatists shows interesting results. Sophocles, like Pindar, does not assert that a mortal is superior to a god, and he goes beyond Pindar in his restraint by not even likening a mortal to a god. This, again, is quite in keeping with his great reverence for the gods and his freedom from all exaggeration and extremes. Aeschylus uses the mythological comparison, but only rarely, and the phrases "Not even Ares from the town shall drive him" and "not even the wrath of Zeus shall turn him from his will" (*Seven against Thebes* 469, 428), the only suggestions of the superiority of a mortal to a god, are deliberately used to show the arrogance of the warriors which leads to their downfall.

But it is in Euripides, as might be expected from his general attitude towards the gods, that this form of comparison is most frequent. There is only a humorous echo of the *Odyssey* in the Cyclops' words "Nor do I know in what respect Zeus is a mightier god than I" (*Cyc.* 321). Sometimes the suggestion that the mortal is superior to a god comes in the form of an ironical supposition "Punish the goddess and be mightier than Zeus who ruleth all the other gods, yet is her slave" (*Tro.* 948f.; cf. also *Tro.* 976-8; *Suppliants* 504). The supposition may be without irony μήτ' Ὀρφέως κάλλιον ὑμῆσαι μέλει (*Med.* 543). On the other hand, the comparison may be used to bring out as strongly as possible a certain fact, as, for example, Ἐλένης γαμέ.

με δυσχερέστερον γάμον (*Trö.* 357); λείαναν οὐ γυναῖκα τῆς Τυρσηνίδος | Σκύλλης ἔχουσιν ἀγριωτέραν φίων (*Med.* 1342-3); ἔγωγε τῷδε τοῦ | Παδαμάνθους | μᾶλλον πέποθα ἐκὶ δίκαιότερον λέγω (*Cycl.* 273-4).

The fact that we find no comparisons of this sort in Aristophanes may seem remarkable. Its possibilities for comic and satiric effect are clear, and surely the poet who represented Dionysus and Heracles in the ridiculous light in which they appear in the *Frogs* could not have been restrained by any sense of awe or reverence. But an examination of the plays shows that Aristophanes only rarely makes a point by comparing a character to a god or hero and that most of these few allusions are brief and casual. Aristophanes prefers to raise a laugh by making a comparison with some notorious individual of his own time rather than with a mythological figure.

The Hellenistic poets evidently felt no hesitation in declaring mortals superior to gods or heroes. The ironical note found in certain passages in Euripides is seen in Theocritus (XX, 42-43). After saying that Cypris, Selene and Hera loved goatherds, he goes on to say, Εὐνίκα δὲ μόνων τὸν βουκόλον οὐκ ἐφίλασεν, | ἃ Κυβέλας κρέσσων καὶ Κύπριδος ἥδὲ Σελάνας. There is humor in Battos' reply when Corydon says that men say his master rivals Heracles in strength—κῆμ' ἔφαθ' ἃ μίτηρ Πολυδεύκεος ἦμιν ἀμείνω (*Theoc.* IV, 9). The eyes of the maiden are γλαυκᾶς χαροπώτερα πολλὸν Ἀθάνας (XX, 25). In the *Megara* (81-82) Alcmena says, τῷ μὴ μ' ἐξείπης ποτ', ἐμὸν θάλοσ, ὥς σεο ἀκηδέω | μηδ' εἴ κ' ἠυκόμου Νιόβης πυκνώτερα κλαίω. In a long detailed passage, Moschus says that the lament of the Siren, the song of the nightingale, the dirge of the swallow, the wail of Ceryx, the Ceryl's song, the bird of Memnon were not so woeful as when they mourned the dead Bion (*Mosch.* III, 37-43). In the same poem we have χά Κύπρις ποθέει σε πολλὸν πλέον ἢ τὸ φίλημα | τὸ πρῶαν τὸν Ἀδώνιν ἀποθνήσκοντα φίλησεν. And again, "Shall I take and give the pipe to Pan? Nay, perhaps even he will fear to put lip to it μὴ δεύτερα σείο φέρηται (55-56). Herondas says, "Even if he is going to read ἄμεινον τῆς Κλεῦς (III, 92) and ταῦτα τρυτάνη Μῖνος οὐκ ἂν δικάζων βέλτιον διήρτησε (II, 90-91). Apollonius of Rhodes in describing Jason says "Never yet had there been such a man in the days of old, neither of the heroes of the lineage of Zeus themselves nor of those who sprung from the blood of the

older gods, as on that day the bride of Zeus made Jason both to look upon and to hold converse with" (*Arg.* III, 919 ff.).

It is in the Greek Anthology that the suggestion that a mortal is superior in some respect to a god comes most frequently. A beautiful woman is αὐτῆς χρυσοτέρη Κίπριδος (*Anth. Append.* II, 261) or Κύπριδος ἀβροτέραν (*A. P.* VII, 218). Her feet may be ἀργυρέης λευκότεροι Θέτιδος (*A. P.* V, 43). She may have more suitors than Helen (*A. P.* VII, 218). As for her accomplishments, her lover may prefer her whisper to the harp of Apollo (*A. P.* V, 141); her speech may be Σειρήνων γλυκύτερον (*A. P.* V, 241; cf. also *Anth. App.* II, 261 just cited); her skilled fingers may be καὶ Μουσῶν κρέσσονα καὶ Χαρίτων (*A. P.* XVI, 283). Isis may take more pleasure in Pamphilior's golden locks than Apollo does in the gold that Croesus sends him (*A. P.* VI, 60). On the other hand, a woman may have a face three times worse than a monkey's and enough to make even Hecate hang herself for envy, if she saw it (*A. P.* XI, 126). She may be twice four hundred years, a very crow of a Hezubah, κορωνεκάβη (*A. P.* XI, 67), or a garrulous old woman who makes Nestor no longer the oldest of men (*A. P.* XI, 72). A beautiful boy may be κρέσσων Ἔρωτος Ἔρωσ (*A. P.* XII, 54) or ἀλλὰ θεοῦ (Nemesis) μοι | ἔστιν ὁ παῖς κρέσσων (*A. P.* XII, 140). If the son of Cronus looks upon handsome Agrippæ, he will at once find fault with the Phrygian Dardanid (*A. P.* XII, 194). The master of these boys is μείζων πολλῷ Διός, for Zeus had only Ganymede (*A. P.* XII, 254). Orpheus yields to the musician Glaphyrus, and if Athena could have made such music, she would not have thrown away the pipes (*A. P.* IX, 517). Conversation is promised that is Φαιήκων γαίης πικρὸν μελιχρότερα (*A. P.* XI, 44). Even a ship is compared to the Argo. The Argo was formerly the theme of song but Pallas has granted to Sabinus to build καινότερην τρόπιν (*A. P.* IX, 306). The pain of Tantalus is light in comparison with the pain of the lover (*A. P.* V, 236). His thirst is nothing in comparison with the thirst of guests who are given only one glass (*A. P.* IX, 377), and the sufferings of both Tantalus and the Danaids are not so great as those of the poet (*Lucian de Dips.* 6). The prowess of Ulysses in facing the jaws of Scylla is nothing to that involved in going to a certain house. In fact, the writer considers himself πλέον πολύτλας than Odysseus, if he gets past one no less fearful than

Cyclops (A. P. XI, 379). Daphne is uprearing a bough from the altar of Caesar, for she has found a god better than Apollo (A. P. IX, 307).

Without going further into a study of Greek literature,<sup>1</sup> it is clear that the form of comparison in which a mortal is made to surpass a god is more or less common in the whole period of Greek poetry but that it is especially frequent in Euripides, the poets of the Hellenistic age and the Greek Anthology, which, though late in composition for the most part, is without doubt Hellenistic in background and literary traditions.

When we come to Latin literature, we find that here, as in other respects, the Latin poets follow Greek traditions. The discussion of a few poets will be enough to show the similarity between the Greek and Latin.

In Vergil it is in the poems of the Appendix that most of the examples are found. In *Cat.* XIII, the text is defective but the meaning is clear enough. The poet is complimenting a friend, Musa, and in answer to his rhetorical questions, *Doctior O quis te, Musa, fuisse potest? | O quis te in terris loquitur iucundior uno?* follows the line "*Clio nam certe candida non loquitur.*" However the words *nam certe* may be amended, it is obvious that the poet wished to say that Musa was superior to Clio (cf. Herondas III, 92, where the point of the comparison is somewhat different). In *Cat.* IX, 24 after the general statement, *altera non Fama dixerit esse prior*, the heroines of Greek mythology, Atalanta, Helen, Cassiopeia, Hippodamia, Semele, are listed as inferior to Messala's mistress. The sentiment is familiar enough in the poems of the Greek Anthology, though there is no exact parallel. There is an awkward comparison in the *Culex* (117-20) stating that Orpheus did not so much restrain by his music the river as the goddess is detained in watching the nymphs. In *Ecl.* VI, 29 ff., "*Nec tantum Phoebus gaudet Parnasia rupes | nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orpheus*" suggests in form A. P. VI, 60. In *Aenid* VI, 801 ff., Vergil suggests a great extent by saying, *Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit . . . nec . . . Liber* (cf. Nonnus XXIX, 2402 οὐ τόσον Ἑρacles).

<sup>1</sup>No attempt has been made to show the use of mythological comparisons in Greek prose, but cf. Lucian *Imagg.* 13, 14 and *Demosthenis Encomium*, 25.

κλέης Στυμφηλίδας ἤλασε βόμβῳ . . . ὅσον στριπὸν ἤλασεν Ἴνδῶν  
Τερψιχόρη κτυπέευσσα χοροῦ πολέμηιον ἄχῳ).

Horace also uses this form of comparison but usually only in a brief phrase: Iam Daedaleo notior Icaro (*Carm.* II, 20, 13); Romana vigui clarior Ilia (*Carm.* III, 9, 8); æques ipso melior Bellerophonte (*Carm.* III, 12, 11); Quid si blandius Orpheo (*Carm.* I, 24, 13; cf. *A. P.* IX, 517).

Nothing of this sort is found in Tibullus who uses all mythological allusions sparingly and with great restraint, but in the *Panegyric of Messalla* (Tib. IV, 1, 48 ff.) the poet declares in a long, detailed passage that Messalla is superior in eloquence to both Nestor and Ulysses: Non Pylos aut Ithace tantos genuisse feruntur | Nestora vel parvæ magnum decus urbis Ulixen | . . . sit labor illius, tua dum facundia, maior.

Propertius, as might be expected from the wealth of mythological allusions in his poems, uses comparisons of this sort much more frequently than any other Latin poet. Sometimes it is only a brief complimentary phrase, Auguste Hectoreis cognite maior avis (IV, 6, 38), or hæc quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli | Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena (II, 34, 87-88). He says of himself: Sed magis ut nostro stupefiat Cynthia versu: | tunc ego sim Inachio notior arte Lino (II, 13, 7-8). But it is of Cynthia and his love of her that he uses the most extravagant expressions. She is not only worthy of Jove and second to Leda but et Ledaæ partu gratior, una tribus | illa sit Inachiis et blandior heroinis (I, 13, 30-31). Again he implies that her beauty would have been a worthier cause of the Trojan war than that of Helen: pulchrius hac fuerat, Troia, perire tibi (II, 3, 34). . . digna quidem facies, pro qua vel obiret Achilles | vel Priamo belli causa probanda fuit (39-40). After comparing her with certain mythological heroines, he writes: Cedite iam, divæ, quas pastor viderat olim | Idaeis tunicas ponere verticibus" (II, 2, 13-14).—The spirit of these passages is very much like that of such Greek epigrams as *Anth. Append.* II, 261; *A. P.* VII, 218 (see above).—The grief of Cynthia at the coldness of Propertius gives rise to a long series of comparisons (II, 20). He asks why she weeps gravius Briseide . . . tristius Andromacha, and goes on: non tam nocturna volucris funesta querela | Attica Cecropiis obstrepit in foliis | nec tantum Niobe bis sex ad busta superbe | sollicito lacrimas defluit a Sipylo.—The allusion to Niobe may be

compared with *Megara*, 82, and that to the nightingale, to Moschus III (see above).—Propertius' own joy at the favor of Cynthia he expresses with an elaborate and detailed comparison (II, 14, 3 ff.): *nec sic errore exacto laetatus Ulixes | . . . nec sic Electra, salvum cum aspexit Oresten | . . . nec sic incolumen Minois Thesea vidit | . . . quanta ego praeterita collegi gaudia nocte*. On the other hand, his suffering is greater than that of Tantalus and Sisyphus (II, 17, 5; 7; 9): *vel tu Tantalea moveare ad flumina sorte | vel tu Sisyphios licet admirere labores | durius in terris nihil est quod vivat amante* (cf. Lucian *de Dips.* 6; *A. P.* V, 236). Poseidon did not love Tyro, nor Hercules Hebe, as much as Propertius loves Cynthia (I, 13, 21 ff.). He praises Aelia Galla by saying (III, 12, 38): *Vincit Penelopes Aelia Galla fidem*.

Ovid also uses this form of comparison quite frequently. Cephalus, to show the love between him and Procris (*Met.* VII, 801 ff.), declares *nec Iovis illa meo thalamos praeferret amori | nec me quae caperet, non si Venus ipsa veniret | ulla erat*. (Cf. Catullus LXX, LXXII.) The phrase, Thetidis qualis vix rear esse pedes (*Her.* XX, 60), is very much like that of *A. P.* V, 48 (see above). Beautiful hair is called *quas vellet Apollo, | quas vellet capiti Bacchus inesse suo* (*Am.* I, 14, 32). Anger is described (*A. A.* II, 309): *Ut fuerit torva violentior illa Medusa | fiet amatori lenis et aequa suo*; and again (*A. A.* III, 504): *lucina Gorgoneo saevius igne micant*.

Several examples of this sort of comparison are found in Seneca's plays. The madness of a woman is set forth by saying: *Scylla et Charybdis, Sicula contorquens freta | minus est timenda* (*Herc. Oel.* 235-6). Octavia says (*Oct.* 58-60): *O mea nullis aequanda malis | fortuna, licet repetam luctus, | Electra, tuos*. In speaking of his wife, Nero says (*Oct.* 546-8): *dignamque thalamis coniugem inveni matris | genere atque forma, victa cui cedat Venus | Iovisque coniux et ferox armis dea*.—Again, the Greek Anthology may be compared (*Anth. Append.* II, 261; *A. P.* VII, 218).—The ghost of Agrippina threatens her son: *poenasque, quis et Tantali vixit sitim, | dirum laborem Sisyphi, Tityi alitem | Ixionisque membra rapientem rotam* (*Oct.* 623-5).—This may be compared with *A. P.* V, 236, Lucian *de Dips.* 6, and Prop. II, 17, though it differs in referring to actual punishment.

These passages are enough to show that in Latin poetry, as well as in Greek, the form of comparison in which a mortal is declared superior to a god is common. It may be noticed also that as this was found most frequently in the Hellenistic period of Greek poetry or in poetry influenced by that period, so in Latin poetry it is found most frequently in Propertius who, it is generally agreed, was most deeply influenced by Hellenistic poetry.

Let us consider now the fourteen examples of this sort of mythological comparison in Plautus in the light of the similar comparisons in other Greek and Latin poetry. In addition to the passage quoted above there are two passages alluding to the labors of Hercules: Hercules ego fui, dum illa mecum fuit | neque sexta aerumna acerbior Herculi quam illa mihi obiectast (*Epid.* 178-9); meo quidem animo ab Hippolyta subeigulum haud | Hercules aequo magno umquam abstulit periculo (*Men.* 198-9). The labors of Hercules are proverbial in both Greek and Latin literature. (Cf. Arist. *Peace* 753; *Wasps* 1030; Catullus LVIII, 13; Prop. II, 23, 7; II, 24, 33-34.) With this may also be compared *Anth. Append.* II, 659: φασιν δ' Ἡρακλέα δύο καὶ δέκα ἄθλα τελέσσαι | ταῦτα δ' ἐγὼ τελέσας τρισκιδέκατον τέλος ἔσχον, though as this is an epitaph of an actual gladiator, comparison with Hercules is more literal.

There are two comparisons with Ulysses: Ulixem audiui fuisse aerumnosissimum | verum hic adulescens multo Ulixem anteit (*Bacch. frag.* 15, Lindsay); superavit dolum Tricianum atque Ulixem Pseudolus (*Pseud.* 1244). With these may be compared *A. P.* XI, 379. Although in this case the comparison is to a feat of Ulysses, the general spirit of the poem is not only like these Ulysses comparisons but like the Hercules passages just quoted.

For *Miles Glo.* 11-12: Tum bellatorem—Mars haud ausit dicere | Neque aequiperare suas virtutes ad tuas, there is the excellent parallel in Alcaeus, Ἄρεως στρατιωτέροις (see above). The lines, Vidi ego multa saepe ficta, quae Accherunti fierent | cruciamenta, verum enim vero nulla adaeque est Accheruns | atque ubi ego fui, in lapicidinis (*Cæpt.* 998-1000), may be compared with Lucian *de Dips.* 6; *A. P.* V, 236; IX, 377 as well as Propertius II, 17.

The remaining passages are as follows: nam hic mihi nunc



est multo potior Iuppiter quam Iuppiter (*Pseud.* 328); Pentheum diripuisse aiunt Bacchas: negas maximas | fuisse credo, praecut quo pacto ego divorsus distrahor (*Merc.* 469-70); Mercurius, Iovi' qui nuntius perhibetur numquam aequae patri | suo nuntium lepidum attulit quam ego nunc meae erae nuntiabo (*Stich.* 274-5); contundam facta Talthubi contemnamque omnis nuntios (*Stich.* 305); scelestioram cenam cenavi tuam | quam quae Thyestae quondam aut posita est Tereo (*Rud.* 509-10); Atridae duo fratres cluent fecisse facinus maximum | non pedibus termento fuit praecut ego erum expugnabo meum (*Bacch.* 925, 929); nec pol ego Nemaeae credo neque ego Olympiae | neque usquam ludos tam festivos fieri | quam hic intus fiunt ludi ludificabiles (*Cas.* 759 ff.). No exact parallels can be pointed out in extant Greek literature, but certainly neither the spirit nor the form of these differ from many of those quoted above.

The use of the comparative of the adjective or adverb such as in *Rud.* 509 is perhaps the most common way of expressing this superiority of the mortal over the god in both Greek and Latin, but there are also parallels for *supero* in the sense in which it is used in *Pers.* 2, *Pseud.* 1244. Aside from the passages in which a real contest is evidently involved as Tyrtaeus, fr. 12, 4; A. P. V, 22; Nonnus XXXIII, 20, *νικῶν* in the sense of "surpass" is used in two passages of the Greek Anthology: *φαμί ποτ' ἐν μύθοις τὰν εὐλαλον Ἡλιοδώραν | νικάσεν αὐτὰς τὴς Χάριτας χάρισιν* (A. P. V, 148); *ἴδ' ὡς νίκημι δικαίως | παισὶν καὶ γλώσση σόφρονι Ταυταλίδα* (A. P. VII, 743). The word *supero* is used by Catullus (LI) in this sense, and *vinco* by Propertius (III, 12, 38) and the writer of the *Octavia* (547, 524). A somewhat different expression of the same idea is found in Catullus LXXXVI, 5, 6: *Lesbia . . . omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres*. The comparison with Callimachus frg. 82 *τὰς Ἀφροδίτας ὑπερβάλλεσθαι πάσας* and Nonnus XVI, 45 *παρθενικὴ γὰρ κάλλος ὄλον σύλησεν Ὀλύμπιον* shows that *Veneribus* should be supplied with *omnibus*, thus giving the same idea of the superiority of a mortal over an immortal.

The desire for comic effect explains the extravagant spirit of these comparisons, and yet they are no more exaggerated than many of the passages quoted from both Greek and Latin literature (cf. for instance A. P. XI, 379). The passage quoted from

Terence by Fraenkel, Non, si ex capite sis mecum | natus, item ut aiunt Minervam esse ex Iove, ea causa magis | patior (Heaut. 1035 ff.), may be, as he says (p. 12) an ἀδύνατον, but that is not the spirit of the passages cited above from Greek and Latin literature any more than it is that of Plautus. These may be literally impossible and sometimes given in the form of an ideal supposition (cf. above, e. g., Tyrtaeus fr. 12 [Bgk.]; Euripides *Tro.* 949), but even then they are thought of as within the range of possibilities. More often, the comparison is simply used to strengthen a statement as much as possible (cf. for instance Eur. *Med.* 1342-3; Theoc. XX, 25).

The very variety and wide range of subject-matter in these mythological allusions of Plautus—not only Hercules, Ulysses and the Atridae are mentioned but Thyestes, Pentheus and Talthybius—would show a remarkable familiarity with Greek mythology for a poet of Plautus' time, if they had no background at all in the Greek original as Fraenkel thinks. This would not, of course, be impossible but, other things being equal, it is more natural to think that Plautus adapted rather than invented such distinctly Greek subject-matter.

As for Menander, there are almost no mythological allusions in the plays now extant. We know that he avoided extraneous material of every kind and extravagance of expression, and strove for a certain uniformity and harmony of style. These characteristics of style may account for the absence of mythological comparisons like those of Plautus, if we consider that the plays of Menander now extant are characteristic of his works as a whole. But they represent only a fraction of the whole output of Menander and it may not be safe to judge all his plays by this small part. Then, too, it must be remembered that Menander was only one of a great many writers of comedy of this period whose works have almost entirely perished. There is, then, the usual danger of arguing *ex silentio* in putting too much confidence in the apparent difference between Plautus and Greek New Comedy, as we have it.

As for Terence, he represents for the most part Menandrian originals and the same things may be said about his style as about that of Menander. It is begging the question to say that in this respect he represents the Greek originals more closely than Plautus.

This form of mythological comparison, to sum up, is not distinctly Plautine, for it is frequently used by other Latin poets. It is not characteristic of Latin literature rather than Greek literature, as the number of examples from a wide range of Greek literature shows. It is especially characteristic of Hellenistic literature for it appears first, to a great extent, in Euripides, who is a precursor in a certain sense of Hellenistic literature and is commonly supposed to have greatly influenced New Comedy. Then it appears not only in writers like Herondas and Theocritus who are contemporary with the writers of New Comedy but in the poets of the Greek Anthology who, though for the most part, much later, are Hellenistic in literary traditions and interests. (This fact justifies their use in this connection, although they are much later in point of time, as it does the drawing of parallels from such writers as Lucian and Nonnos.) Then, too, it appears in Latin literature most frequently in Propertius who is, undoubtedly, much influenced by Hellenistic literature. Hence, though the evidence from the remains of Greek comedy is slight in amount and negative, yet, since mythological comparisons like those of Plautus were used to a great extent by writers contemporary with the writers of his Greek originals, it is by no means impossible that Plautus found these comparisons in the Greek plays very much in the form in which he presented them. At any rate, it is dangerous to use such a criterion for determining what is Plautine and what is Greek in Plautus' plays.

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## REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS, LXXX (N. F. XXXIV) 1925.

Pp. 1-66. R. Kerber, Hölderlins Verhältnis zu Homer. Hölderlin became acquainted with Homer early, and remained familiar with him throughout his life. Resemblances between the two poets are chiefly in such things as composition and syntax. Direct imitation is rare, though Homer's words are quoted at times. Hölderlin wrote much in the hexameter verse, but here Homer is only one influence among many. He translated part of the Iliad, but the rendering is full of errors, since his enthusiasm for the Greeks was not matched by a corresponding knowledge of grammar and philology. The article is elaborately documented; there are 354 footnotes containing all necessary references.

Pp. 67-88. W. Schmid, Der homerische Schiffskatalog und seine Bedeutung für die Datierung der Ilias. The *Dolonia* and the *Catalog of the Ships* are both interpolations. The *Catalog* shows a mixture of Homeric and Hesiodic style. Explanation is offered to show why it began with the Boeotians. The author of the *Catalog* took it over from his predecessors, therefore it must have formed part of the *Cypria*. *Megara* was left out of the list because of the spite of an Attic rhapsode who transferred the *Catalog* from the *Cypria* to the *Iliad* between 600 and 560 in order to glorify Athens. This dates it before Peisistratus and after the trouble with *Megara*.

Pp. 89-105. Karl Rupprecht, *Apostolis*, Eudem und Suidas. The author defends himself against Frau Ade Adler's unfavorable review of his book with the above title.

Pp. 106-112. Miscellen. 1. pp. 106-109. Friedrich Wilhelm, *Zur Legende von den frommen Brüdern von Catina*. The customary version of the story speaks of two brothers who saved their parents during an eruption of Mt. Aetna. Early tradition speaks of a father's being saved by one son. Other instances are quoted in which the fire, out of respect for the old man and his dutiful son, lets them pass in safety. 2. pp. 109-112. Joseph Schnetz, *Rigilinus*. The so-called "Geographer of Ravenna," author of a Latin *Cosmography* in 5 books, quotes 24 iambic dimeters from a certain *Rigilinus* on the question of where the sun goes at night. On the linguistic evidence of his name *Rigilinus* is supposed to be a Langobard; his period is in the sixth or seventh century after Christ. *Rigilinus* is not to be considered an invention of the Geographer.

Pp. 113-135. Hugo Steiger, *Euripides ein antiker Ibsen?* Euripides and Ibsen have often been compared. The two men

are not on the same plane, Euripides is by far the greater man. Wilamowitz had said that it is absurd to look for an ancient Ibsen in Euripides; reply is made to this objection by showing how closely the two dramatists resembled each other in general attitude toward the world, society, morals, etc. Answer is then made to Petersen who asserts that Euripides' realism was assumed in order to conciliate the public taste, and that he was really orthodox in his religious views. Some minor points in Petersen's book are also corrected.

Pp. 136-175. Kurt Latte, Glossographika. The article consists of three sections. I. Ein vergessenes Diogenianexzerpt. Various Ms. miscellanies of the Renaissance contain an excerpt called *Ποῖαι γλῶσσαι κατὰ πόλεις*; (*εὔται καλοῦνται γλωσσηματικά*). The text of the excerpt is given, with critical notes. The evidence shows that no Byzantine could have had the scholarship to make the gloss in question himself, the excerpt must go back to Diogenianus, whose work was still being used in the time of Photius. II. Dialektglossen in der antiken Homererklärung. Most of the scholiasts of the fifth and fourth centuries are mere names, but there is one who must have come from Cyme, although his name is not given. The resemblances noted by this man between Homer's language and customs and those of Cyme are intended to show that Homer was a native of that city. Ephoros of Cyme is the only person known to have supported this view with elaborate arguments. Therefore the fragments preserved in Homeric Scholia ET must go back to Ephoros' book *Ἐπιχόριος*. This section also contains other observations on Homeric dialect glosses. III. Die hellenistische Glossographie. Plato probably had Ionic predecessors among the Heracleiteans from whom he took his etymological method. The Peripatetics did a great deal for this branch of philology. Alexandrian literary taste, with its love of minutiae stimulated the making of glosses. Callimachus shows a continuation of the Peripatetic method, while Eratosthenes marks an advance in that he devotes his attention to the circumstances of everyday life. A list is given of the Alexandrian writers of *Onomastika*.

Pp. 176-191. O. Crusius (-), Lobon und seine Verwandten. Schneidewin discovered that the notes in Diogenes Laertius on the literary activity of the Seven Sages came from a work of Lobon, *περὶ ποιητῶν*. Eduard Hiller and Wilhelm Crönert had also written about Lobon, who parodied the work of Callimachus. The author disagrees with Crönert in ascribing certain things to Lobon, who is shown to have derived some of his mythical literary history from Herodotus. Lobon is a real name, it appears on an Attic stone of the fifth century. The name is made from *λοβός*, as *Ῥένος* is made from *ῥίς*. Hermippus, whose work Lobon used, furnishes a good terminus ante quem non. The

academic frivolity of Loben has its parallel in the work of Heraclides Ponticus.

Pp. 192-199. J. H. van Haeringen, *Zur Frage des Pisonerbrieffes*. After verse 322 appears no additional trace of dramatic poetry. It is supposed then that Horace made a division of poetry into two kinds, dramatic and non-dramatic. This can be shown by comparing the Epistle to the Pisos with the Epistle to Augustus (Ep. II, 1), since the latter part of both epistles deals only with what Kiessling-Heinze have called 'book-poetry.' The reason that commentators have gone astray in the interpretation is that they have always tried to find a discussion of art in the Epistle to the Pisos instead of trying to connect this with the other Epistles. The writer's thesis is supported by a comparison of passages.

Pp. 200-224. Miscellen. 3. pp. 200-206. F. Scheidweiler, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung Petrons*. 1. In *Satyricon* 15.5 it is not necessary to suppose a lacuna after *constitutum* as Bücheler did, since the scene can be explained satisfactorily as the text stands. 2. Explanation of the difficulties at the beginning of the cena, 26.7. The meal is called a *cena libera* because Agamemnon had hired Encolpius and Askyrtos as teachers in his school, and thus their vagabond life was over. In c. 90 *ne mihi posta avolaret* is to be read for *ne me poetam vocaret*. 3. The riddle in 58, 8, 9 refers to the gnomon of a sun-dial. The riddle should read:

- - - longe venio, late venio, solve me.  
currit nec loco movetur, crescit atque fit minor.

The first line is merely an introductory formula. 4. pp. 206-207. Thea Stifter, *Zu Menander*. In the hypothesis of the Hero *ἔδωκεν ἐνι τροφῇ τρέφειν* is to be read for *ἔδωκεν ἐπιτρόπῳ τρέφειν*. Instances are given of the replacing of an indefinite pronoun by a numeral. 5. pp. 207-208. K. Rupprecht, *Philemon* Fr. 2. (K). The text can be accepted as it stands without emendation. 6. pp. 209-213. Kar. Münscher, *Zum christlichen Dreifaltigkeitshymnos aus Oxyrhynchus*. This Christian hymn (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XV, No. 1783; cf. *Philologus* LXXIX, pp. 201 ff.) appears to be purely anapaestic in its metrical structure, corresponding to the usage of the Empire. Acatalectic dimeter and hypercatalectic trimeter are the forms to be seen in it. 7. pp. 213-219. Alfred Klotz, *Dresdener Reste einer Plinius-handschrift des 13. Jahrhunderts*. In the winter of 1902/3 Professor Ludwig Schmidt discovered in the Dresden Library a Ms. of Pliny which had been used for a book cover. The Ms. (8) belongs to the thirteenth or perhaps to the end of the twelfth century. A list of the variants from Mayhoff's text is given; these show the Ms. to belong to the second family. 8. p. 220.

N. Wecklein, Die Parodos der Sieben gegen Theben von Äschylos. The parodos is to be divided among the chorus in the order 1, 4, 6, 12, since Aeschylus probably used only 12 choreutae. In l. 150 *πρὸς πόλεις* is to be read for *πρὸ πόλεως*. 9. p. 221. Hermann Fränkel, Ein Epiktetfragment. Marcus Aurelius often quotes without giving the source. Stylistic considerations show that the passage in IV 49, 2-5 comes from Epictetus. 10. p. 222. Franz Zimmermann, Zu Chariton II 2, 1 = S. 28, 21 (Hercher). In the passage in question *καὶ τοὺς [καὶ] ἐνθάδε* is to be read for *καλῶς καὶ ἐνθάδε*. Observations are made on ditto-graphy in the Cod. Florentinus, and on the suppression of *εἶναι*. 11. pp. 223-224. Franz Eckstein, Die Herkunft von apocalare. This verb which appears twice in Petronius, c. 62, 3 and 67, 3 is to be explained as coming from *ἀπο-χαλάω*. The word belongs to the folk speech.

Pp. 225-297. Agnes Schwesinger, Eigenart und Eigengesetzlichkeit in Platons Kunst. Plato's works show an inner relation between thought content and artistic form. The following questions can be put: What meaning has the image as an artistic means of expression within the dialog? How far does the influence of images extend over the conduct of the thought? Does the composition of the dialog follow an inner necessity arising from the thought or from the image? Is such relation between thought content and artistic representation to be considered a peculiarity of Plato? In the structure of a series of dialogs can a relationship be indicated pointing to a definite law, and can this individual law be indicated and set forth according to the principle of its operation? These and other questions are answered by an extensive investigation of the Phaedo, Gorgias, Apology, Crito, Protagoras, and Symposium. A list of the principles is given (pp. 229-231) according to which Plato exercised his art of composition.

Pp. 298-311. Josef Mesk, Über Phlegons Mirabilia I-III. Phlegon's Mirabilia contains 35 wonder tales, the first three of which belong to one group, and resemble each other strongly in structure, motive and expression. The plots of the three tales are given and the resemblances noted. A discussion is also given of the possible sources.

Pp. 312-330. F. Atenstädt, Ein Beitrag zu Stephanos von Byzanz. Philon of Byblus, *περὶ πόλεων καὶ οὓς ἐκάστη αὐτῶν ἐνδόξους ἤνεγκε* and Oros, *περὶ ἐθνικῶν*, are the two chief sources of Stephanus of Byzantium. Oros has also been shown to have used the work of Philon. The question is: what is the relation of the three men to one another? Did Stephanus use both works together, or did he get the material from Philon indirectly through Oros? Oros and Stephanus used the same

source, viz. Philon. A comparison of passages shows that Stephanus drew material from Philon direct, not through Oros.

Pp. 331-341. Fr. Bilabel, Fragmente aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung. In the first section of the article, twelve of the fragments which seem to agree in handwriting, content, and metre are considered together, and an attempt is made to arrive at their meaning. Section II gives the text of No. 1716 together with some notes. Section III contains a small fragment on the art of cookery.

Pp. 342-552. Miscellen. 12. pp. 342-345. R. Asmus (†), Julians Invektiven gegen Neilos und ihre Hauptquelle. The Alcibiades commentary of Iamblichus is the source of the invective against Neilos. The same work served as the basis for the attack on the Cynics and for that directed against the detractors of Julian in Antioch. A series of parallel passages is given to support the author's thesis. 13. pp. 345-350. F. Pichlmayr, Zu den *Scriptores historiae Augustae*. It has long been known that there are many interpolations in the text of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. Corrections of some of these are given, and other suggestions are made for the improvement of the text. 14. pp. 350-552. Karl Rupprecht, *ΙΕΡΑ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗ*. The word *ἀναγραφή* is to be translated not as 'inscription' but as 'recording,' 'record.' Parallels are adduced for this meaning. Lactantius had translated Euhemerus' title by 'Historia Sacra.'

Pp. 353-365. W. J. W. Koster, De Glyconei et Pherecratei origine. Explanation is given of the names of the metres in question. It is pointed out that the glyconic is always of the same nature, as opposed to the pherecratean, which was first a catalectic glyconic, and then was changed to a triple measure. The article discusses in detail metarrhythmisis, Aeolic glyconics and pherecrateans, Ionic metarrhythmisis, the phalaecean verse, pherecrateans arising from anapaests, and dactylic metarrhythmisis. The usage of the poets is constantly adduced to explain the author's points.

Pp. 366-376. Rudolf Acam, Über eine unter Platos Namen erhaltene Sammlung von Definitionen. The Definitions are not Platonic, but Academic. Diogenes Laertius was the first to list them among Plato's works. The bulk of the article consists of a series of parallel passages from Plato, Aristotle, Cicero's philosophical works, Diogenes Laertius, Sextus Empiricus, Stobaeus, and Galen; these are adduced in order to provide a more complete understanding of the Definitions and the philosophical principles involved in them.

Pp. 377-409. Jos. Wünschmidt, Die Schrift des Menelaus



über die Bestimmung der Zusammensetzung von Legierungen. The work of Meneaus on how to discover the weight of any one of a number of bodies in composition was translated into Arabic. The present article contains a German translation of this Arabic work, made from a Ms. in the Escorial. Notes, diagrams, and equations are added to the translation. The rendering from the Arabic was made by E. Wiedemann.

Pp. 410-436. F. Eckstein, *Neue Untersuchungen zu Plautus und Terenz*. Studies in the technique of sentence composition by a comparison of Plautus and Terence. Plautus used the old Roman manner, while Terence used the newer style resulting from the development of syntax that took place after the time of Plautus. Plautus' work is compared with that of his predecessors and contemporaries in drama. Plautus shows an advance over the earlier poets in the proper combination of metre, sentence structure, and thought; this principle is most rigidly observed in the *Bacchides*. The difference in sentence structure between one play and another (e. g. *Mostellaria* and *Bacchides*) is of great importance in the study of their relation to one another. Perfection of sentence structure may be taken as evidence of maturity of the poet's art, hence studies of this kind help to date the plays. So the *Mostellaria* is to be assigned to Plautus' early period, the *Bacchides* to his later, mature period.

Pp. 437-453. Fritz Walter, *Zu lateinischen Schriftstellern*. Corrections for the text of fifteen Latin authors.

Pp. 454-466. K. Barwick, *Ovids Erzählung vom Raub der Proserpina und Nkanders ΕΤΕΡΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΑ*. Malten had pointed out that Ovid drew his story of the rape of Proserpina from a Hellenistic poet; examination of the evidence shows this poet to have been Nicander, from whom Ovid took not only the story but its framework.

Pp. 467-474. *Miscellen*. 15. pp. 467-472. Hugo Koch, *Zu Arnobius und Lactantius*. Hieronymus listed Lactantius as a pupil of Arnobius, while Lactantius himself omits Arnobius from the number of his predecessors. The views of the two men are in some instances so opposed that it is hard to see how Hieronymus could have put them together in the relation of master and pupil. Mere opposition of opinion is not, however, enough to show that the two had never stood in this relation to each other. 16. pp. 472-474. Franz Zimmermann, *Drei Konjekturen zum Chariton-Roman*. Attempts to improve three vexed passages.

HARRISON C. COFFIN.

ROMANIA, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-4.

Pp. 1-31. Amos Parducci. *Sul Perillos tractat d'amor de donas di Ermengau di Béziers*. This is the final and essential part of the Old Provençal author's far-famed work entitled the *Breviari d'amor*. He begins by affirming that Love is a blessing, and proceeds to discuss the question in a dialogue with his brother as well as with various other persons. It is but natural to compare the mediæval poet's work with that of Ovid on the same subject, and to note the difference in treatment at various points.

Pp. 32-45. Pierre Laurent. *Contribution à l'histoire du lexique français*. The greater portion of the words here treated are of learned origin, and the endeavor is made both to confirm and to correct the statements in regard to them made by the *Dictionnaire Général*. In many cases it has been possible to cite earlier occurrences of these forms than those that were previously known.

Pp. 46-75. Olin H. Moore. *Bertran de Born et le jeune roi*. Certain modern authors have attributed to the Provençal troubadour an important political rôle in the relations between France and England in his day, but the author of this article finds the evidence entirely unconvincing. On the other hand, it seems quite evident that the poet himself contributed largely to the formation of the legend that Henry Plantagenet was a generous patron of troubadours and jongleurs. Finally, it would appear that Bertran de Born was of a bellicose disposition and always ready to incite to warfare.

Pp. 76-104. L. Foulet. *Galeran et Jean Renart*. By a comparison of several Old French epics and an attempt to identify certain contemporaries of their authors who are mentioned, it would appear that Jean Renart was one of the best and most prolific epic poets of his time. New biographical details and chronological data are presented in this article.

Pp. 105-121. *Mélanges*:—Gunnar Tilander, *Brisier, Bruisier*. —L. Foulet, *Un sirventès politique de 1230; Galeran et les dix compagnons de Bretagne*.

Pp. 122-128. *Corrections*:—M. Wilmotte, *Chanson de Roland* (éd. Jenkins).

Pp. 129-160. *Comptes rendus. Périodiques. Chronique*.

Pp. 161-202. Ch. Samaran. *Fragments de manuscrits latins et français du moyen âge*. While cataloguing a series of old charts in the Archives nationales in Paris, the author of this article came upon a few fragments of Old French manuscripts

which had been used in the bindings. To these he added certain fragments previously discovered by others, and then compiled this description of some nine different manuscripts, not including those in Latin. The Old French works here described include: I. Roman en prose de Berinus; II. Boèce, De consolatione philosophiae; III. Gautier de Coinci, Miracles de Nostre-Dame; IV. Chanson de geste: Girbert de Metz; V. Roman en prose de Lancelot du Lac; VI. Miracle de S. Nicolas; VII. Rondeaux de Jean Picart, dit le Bailli d'Ételan; VIII. Farce de Thevot; IX. Farce de Tripet.

Pp. 203-252. L. Foulet. Le développement des formes surcomposées. The origin, extension and future of these strangely complicated grammatical constructions is here considered both for the literary and the popular language. After investigating the earliest known examples, the conclusion is reached that these forms originated in the speech of the eastern provinces, and thence gradually spread to Paris and were adopted by the literary language. Certain country districts have greatly developed these constructions, and some very peculiar forms have been evolved. As usual, the French grammarians have exerted a great influence in modeling the popular usage into the accepted literary forms of modern times.

Pp. 253-272. Mélanges:—Gunnar Tilander, Mots se rapportant au sanglier dans les livres de chasse du moyen âge.—G. I. Brătianu, Les Normands au service de Byzance dans la *Chanson de Roland*.—G. I. Brătianu, Noms romans dans les registres des notaires génois de Crimée à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Pp. 273-290. Discussions:—Alphonse Bayot, Sur *Gormont et Isembart*.

Pp. 291-320. Comptes rendus. Périodiques. Chronique.

Pp. 321-347. Étienne Gilson. La mystique de la grâce dans *La Queste del Saint Graal*. It is here shown how closely the Grail story is modeled upon the Scriptures and upon the writings of the Church fathers. The theological notions of the Benedictines of Cîteaux are in harmony with the underlying thought of this famous mediæval romance; and the various heroes of the story personify the gradations of Divine love in accordance with the ideas of the olden time. Numerous citations from the sources are likewise given in extensive foot-notes, where they serve to demonstrate the philosophical basis of the search for the Holy Grail.

Pp. 348-362. Jessie L. Weston. The Relation of the Perlesvaus to the Cyclic Romances. The late Professor Bruce devoted a section of his recently published work entitled *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* to the discussion of the relations

existing between the *Perlesvaus* and the romances of the Vulgate cycle. After stating her widely divergent views, and after identifying a historical character, Miss Weston concludes that the priority of the *Perlesvaus* over the cyclic versions has been determined once for all.

Pp. 363-396. Holger Petersen. Trois versions inédites de la Légende de Saint Eustache en vers français. II. Version de Guillaume de Ferrières (York, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, XVI, K. 13). This Anglo-Norman manuscript of the end of the thirteenth century is here described for the first time, and from it is published in a critical edition the text in question.

Pp. 397-408. Ferdinand Lot. Encore Bleheri-Breri. A comparison of variant manuscript readings for this author of Celtic romances with known historical facts enables the author of this article to throw new light on a literary question that has long been under discussion among modern scholars.

Pp. 409-425. Mélanges:—G. Lozinski, Remarques sur l'origine du préfixe français Mes- Me-: Note complémentaire.—A. Långfors, *A peu puis dirz un ne deus*.—Antoin Duraffour, Ancien dombiste Areyna, Seblon, Pavir.—Joseph Anglade, Le troubadour N'At de Mons et les *Leys d'amors*.—F. Lot, L'origine du nom de Lancelot.—L. Jeanroy, Le roman de *Guillaume de Dole* et Gautier de Coinci.—A. Horning, Additions aux notes étymologiques vosgiennes.

Pp. 426-480. Comptes rendus. Périodiques. Chronique.

Pp. 481-510. Edmond Faral. *Gormond et Isembard*. In 1913 Joseph Bédier advanced the theory that this epic originated with the monks of Saint-Riquier; in 1924 Albert Pauphilet rejected this theory and claimed a literary origin for the legend. The present article submits the question to a renewed examination. Rudolf Zenker has likewise studied the same problem in an article published in 1925. The final result for Edmond Faral, after investigating all the evidence attainable to him, is a return to the Bédier theory.

Pp. 511-527. Paul Aebischer. Fragments de moralités, farces et mystères retrouvés à Fribourg. The cover of a record book preserved at Fribourg, Switzerland, has been found to be made up of more than a hundred fragments of manuscripts and printed works glued together by the binder presumably. Among these are a certain number belonging to dramatic works, which are here described and analyzed. The language of these fragments is either French, local dialect or Franco-Provençal, and they all appear to have belonged to works represented there in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Pp. 523-541. Giacomo De Gregorio. Etimologie. The etymologies here discussed belong largely to Italian dialects, and they are arranged under some twenty-three heads.

Pp. 542-554. Eio Rana. Un frammento delle *Enfances Hector* da un codice perduto. In the Vatican Library there is preserved a large parchment leaf which seems to have come originally from the binding of an old volume in the Barberini Library. It was written in Northern Italy in the fourteenth century, and it contains a fragment of the Old French poem mentioned above. This poem was previously known to have been preserved to us in four manuscripts, in most of which it is given as an introduction to the well-known *Roman de Troie*.

Pp. 555-570. Mélanges:—A. Graur. Roumain Iepar.—C. Brunel, Provençal Manbes, Marves.—Michel Dubois, Passer = "Marcher."—G. Leczinski, Un fragment du *Bestiaire d'amour* de Richard de Fournival.—J. Morawski, A propos des *Sept ars d'amours* de "Lant Faïer."

Pp. 571-640. Comptes rendus. Périodiques. Chronique. Table des matières.

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## REVIEWS.

*Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos.* ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF. Zwei Bände. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1924.

More than forty years ago Wilamowitz edited the Hymns and Epigrams of Callimachus. When the period of papyrus discoveries began, with the Hecale in 1893, to be continued with the Aitia fragments of 1910 and following years, his contributions to the clarification of the text and the elucidation of the contents were of prime importance. These volumes contain many fresh discussions of disputed points; they also review and sum up the results of a lifetime of work in this one of the many fields in which the distinguished scholar has been active.

The first volume opens with a series of brief, vivid sketches of the Hellenistic kings. The following chapter, with the title *Hellenistische Staedte*, is a picture of the intellectual life of the Greek world at a time when old centers of influence had lost their preeminence and new foci of life were making themselves felt, when the cities of Asia Minor under the influence of a newly found prosperity take the leadership in an intellectual movement which later came to its climax in Alexandria. The schools of philosophy, the possession of which still gave Athens a preeminence, are sketched with a few bold strokes, and the life of the changing Hellenistic world is characterized in respect to its religion, its belief about immortality, its attitude toward woman, its feeling for nature, its romanticism.

As a further introduction, there is a chapter on the new poetry which had to adjust itself to an age when a refined and developed prose style was urging its claim as an all-sufficient medium of expression. The Ionian antecedents of Alexandrian poetry account for the important poetical forms which lent themselves to the new uses of a new age: the epic with its related forms, the idyll and the epigram.

By some such path as this the author approaches the central theme, Callimachus, a man who belonged neither to Europe nor to Asia, yet "one in whom the Hellenistic spirit found its purest expression (I, 170)." The chapter on Callimachus is an intellectual history of the man, beginning with his earliest expression in the epigram. To the relatively early period belongs the epinician poem for Sosibius, recently discovered in fragmentary form and of interest as a poet's adventure in adapting the elegiac meter to the uses of the choral lyric. The earlier hymns are followed by the poet's important work, the

Aitia. Later comes the *Hecale*, approximately in the period 274-271, B. C., and coincident with it the appearance of Theocritus at Alexandria. Soon after 270 B. C. Callimachus as court poet celebrates the death of Arsinoë in a poem of which some mutilated fragments were published in 1912. In the succeeding decade Alexander of Aetolia, Lycophron and Aratus enter the literary field at Alexandria. Meantime the feud between Callimachus and Apollonius developed, which resulted in the withdrawal of the latter from Alexandria. The Iambic verses, now somewhat known from the Oxyrhynchus publication of 1910, belong to the later period when the learned work of the Library was being done. The latest poetical creations were the Apollo hymn and the Lock of Berenice. A suggestive chapter on the influence of Callimachus upon the Latin poets, with particular reference to Propertius, closes the first volume.

The second volume is illustrative of the first. A full third of the book is given to interpretation of the poems of Callimachus, including the *Aitia*, the epinician poem to Sosibius, and the *Ibis*. The poets who stood in some personal relation to Callimachus, namely Theocritus, Lycophron, Aratus, and Apollonius, receive critical discussion. Passages of the text of Aratus and Lycophron are interpreted. The hymn to Zeus by Cleantes is printed with textual notes and brief comment, and a discussion of the Hellenistic poems of Catullus brings the volume to a close.

This outline of the contents of the two volumes may suffice to suggest the wealth and variety of the material that is passed in review. The commentary on the Hymns of Callimachus deals not to any degree with details, but rather traces the main lines of interpretation. Several incisive discussions of the mythological tradition are given, for example that about Tiresias, in connection with Hymn 5, or the more complicated case of Erysichthon, Hymn 6. The chapter on Apollonius includes a treatment of the Argonautic story from Apollonius back to the very origins. The germ of the whole story, so far as the fragmentary evidence permits a judgment, seems to Wilamowitz to be not, as in the case of the *Iliad* and *Thebais*, a recollection of a historical occurrence, but a story relating to some custom or usage having religious and legal significance, perhaps a particular case embodying the custom, perhaps an exemplification of it. In the *Argonautica* of Apollonius a striking difference exists between the character of Medea as portrayed in the third book, and again in the fourth; in the former, a love-lorn maiden, in the latter a cool-headed, resolute, purposeful sorceress, a mature woman, not an inexperienced maiden. This inconcinnity in the characterization of Medea suggests to Wilamowitz a source, unknown to us but manifest by its effect

upon the poem of Apollonius, a tragedy, he tentatively proposes, dealing with the death of Apsyrtus by his sister's hand, but showing a less revolting form of the story. Eumelus, the Corinthian epic poet of the seventh century, B. C., emerges from the gloom as the decisive influence in giving a new turn to the story of the return of the Argonauts. That mass of tradition, well known to later writers, which placed the marriage of Jason and Medea in Corcyra and found traces of Argonauts and Colchians along the shores of the upper Adriatic, is primarily due to Corinthian and Corcyrean sources which found their earliest literary form at the hands of Eumelus. In this period the upper Adriatic was the sea of Cronus, that is, a part of the northern ocean, or, to use a phrase of Apollonius, "a horn of Oceanus." The brother of Medea, who met his death upon the occasion of the return of the Argonauts, was at first anonymous. In the poem of Apollonius he is an adult, is named Apsyrtus, and is slain by his sister, not in the Pontus but in the Adria. Wilamowitz regards it as fairly probable that so much of this story as concerns the name and the locality is due to Eumelus.

In the ninety pages of the second volume which are devoted to Apollonius, Wilamowitz takes up as of primary importance the relation in which he stood to Callimachus in their versions of the Argonautic story. A very considerable degree of dependence on the part of Apollonius has been an accepted view, and this view has furnished a method of procedure, freely used by Schneider and others, that of working back from the known *Argonautica* of Apollonius to the unknown *Aitia* of Callimachus. A certain amount of dependence certainly exists. However, as to many of the particular instances of dependence which scholars have thought probable in one case or another, Wilamowitz expresses himself with a noteworthy degree of reserve. Service imitation of Callimachus on the part of Apollonius he expressly rejects. In fact, his detailed analysis of portions of book 4 of the *Argonautica* is for the sake of showing that Apollonius is no mere imitator of his master. There is one crucial instance where a point of contact between the two poets has been asserted to exist. Apollonius represents the Argonauts as returning home by way of the Ister, which is conceived of as forking at a certain point so that there is a stream which discharges into the Adriatic, as if the whole Balkan peninsula were a delta of the Ister. Schneider, when he edited the fragments of Callimachus in 1873 (*Callimachea*, II, 78 ff.), proposed a reconstruction of the second book of the *Aitia* which postulated the earlier use by Callimachus of this form of the story of the return. This view, that Callimachus preceded Apollonius in bringing the Argonauts into the Adriatic by sending them up one fork of the Ister and down another, has



proved to have great vitality, and has even found acceptance in works of reference. Rudolf Pfeiffer, the capable editor of the recent fragments of Callimachus (1923), in his *Kallimachosstudien* (1922), pp. 48-52, has decided that the preponderance of evidence favors this view. His decision is reached by giving a particular interpretation to the last sentence of the scholiastic note to *Ap. Rh. IV*, 284. But in making this decision, Pfeiffer relegates to a footnote (p. 52, n. 2) an important passage of Strabo, I, 46. Wilamowitz rates this passage of Strabo as of first importance, and draws from it the conclusion, supported alike by logic and the rhythm of the passage, that Callimachus was not of those who represented the Argonauts as reaching the Adriatic by way of the Ister. Incidentally, he clarifies the meaning of the passage by two slight changes of the text. In general as to the *Aitia*, even after the recent acquisitions of new material, the commonly accepted view that it was in the second book that the Argonautic incidents were told, still lacks confirmation, as Wilamowitz now grants (*II*, 171), accepting the interpretation of the scanty evidence which Pfeiffer (*Kallimachosstudien*, pp. 76-77) has given.

Wilamowitz remarks in one place (*I*, 218) that better than any epigrammatic characterization of a poet is the discovery of the poet and the man in his works. These two volumes are an incentive to make the direct approach. Alexandrian poetry is a difficult and not a uniformly inviting field. So much the more are we indebted to this work not merely for learning and insight but for its sympathetic approach to the subject.

EDWARD FITCH.

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*A Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek.* By J. P. POSTGATE. Liverpool, University Press; London, Hodder and Stoughton; 1924. x + 96 pp.

*On Ancient Greek Accentuation.* By J. P. POSTGATE. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925. 52 pp.

The former book is not meant to be a complete treatise on Greek accentuation comparable to Chandler's work, but Professor Postgate devotes only forty-three pages to a practical summary, while the remainder of the book is "reconstruction and interpretation." It is his aim to show that Greek accentuation is a rational system instead of a pedantic collection of empirical rules. Finally, the author makes an appeal for

abandoning the irrational British practice of accentuation, and believes it possible not only, as is done in America, to accent the syllable on which the accent is printed, but even to reproduce the old pitch accent, which to many would seem both highly pedantic and unnatural if possible, and at the same time practically impossible because we have no living models to follow, not to speak of the immense labor which would be required to overcome our own habits of intonation.

The facts of Greek accentuation are presented in a clear and trustworthy manner in Professor Postgate's summary. That this is entirely empirical, could not be otherwise, for the only rational treatment of Greek accents, tracing their connection with I. E. accents and explaining the changes, would require much more space than was at his disposal. In the theoretical part also Professor Postgate shows his customary sound judgment and comprehensive knowledge, not only of Greek, but of Comparative Philology as well. Of course, many will disagree with some of his opinions, and he has not made out a very good case against the explanation of the grave accent of prepositions as due to proclisis (cf. Wackernagel, *IF. Anz.* 43. 54f.). Among minor errors might be mentioned the syllable division Engl. *an-in-al*, cited as representing the actual pronunciation (p. 2), and the citation of *Iliad* B 2 as the second line of the *Iliad* (p. 25). However, such little things in no way detract from the serviceability of the work, for the appearance of which scholars will be truly grateful.

Under the second title Professor Postgate develops further some of the opinions set forth in the Guide. Particularly three propositions are presented at greater length: 1) The Greek tradition concerning accent, as seen in grammarians and manuscripts, is thoroughly sound and trustworthy; 2) Retraction of accent by one mora is never bound to any rhythmical form, as the trochee or dactyl; 3) Differences of accentuation which are normally connected with such endings, as e. g. with dactyls by Wheeler's Law, are to be explained by the doctrine of significant accents, i. e., that the syllables on which the accent is placed are psychically the most important.

With the first proposition one would not seriously disagree, although the writer does not distinguish between trustworthiness of the evidence of the grammarians for the language of their own time and for older periods. In his arguments for the second and third he appears altogether as a special pleader whose desire to prove his point beclouds his judgment and causes his presentation to be extremely inconvincing.

In the beginning of his discussion of Wheeler's Law Postgate demands of its advocates that they must show not only, as is just, that Greek dactylic paroxytones were not I. E. paroxytones

which remained so in Greek, but also that there was some subtle association in the Greek mind between dactylic form and paroxytone accent. The unfairness of this is very clear when we consider that laws of sound change in general are empirical laws, of the rationale of which we know next to nothing. An application of this postulate would lead to the rejection of practically every conclusion in I. E. phonology.

The exceptions to Wheeler's Law, of which the writer makes so much, are disconcerting only if they cannot be explained, which, of course, Postgate, in his zeal for his point of view, does not attempt to do. In actual fact most of them are not so difficult, and the only isolated dactylic oxytone that is not readily explained is ὀμφαλός 'navel.' As to ἀδελφεός, the influence of ἀδελφεύς, with non-dactylic ending, is self-evident, while ὀρφανός 'orphan' is patterned after the non-dactylic feminine ὀρφανή, since orphanage was of greater moment for the girl than the boy and no doubt here first received a designation (cf. *widower* patterned after *widow*). In Attic μῦελός has a short *υ* and does not have a dactylic ending, and it would be rash to assume that the Homeric μῦελός was accented as in Attic. Finally, οὐρανός is explained by its origin from \*ὄζορανός, and contracted after the law ceased to operate. We would hardly follow Postgate in rejecting Wheeler's Law because the explanation for one word has not yet been found.

Professor Postgate's method of argument is illustrated again by his treatment of the perfect participles in -μένος, in case of which he cannot see why Wheeler's Law should lead to a differentiation between the accentuation of present and perfect participles. If he had only carefully surveyed the existing material the answer would not have been difficult. The overwhelming majority of present participles are thematic and end in -όμενος, which never could be dactylic, and have no bearing on the question anyhow, since they are clearly recessive. On the other hand in the invariably athematic perfects the vast majority of dactyls from verbal roots in consonants, e. g. λελεγμένος, and from those in long vowels, e. g. βασιλευμένος, easily set the pattern for the few participles from roots in a short vowel, as δεδομένος.

In his objection to ὁστέον as used by Wheeler on the grounds that it should be connected with the invariably paroxytone verbals in -τέος, Postgate again shows his attitude as a special pleader. What bearing -τέος < -τέφος should have on ὁστέον < \*ὁστέον is surely a mystery.

Lack of space forbids the analysis of the other objections to Wheeler's Law, but those mentioned are typical. I shall only add a few words concerning the doctrine of significant accents. Although the prominence given by accentuation is originally

significant, yet the accent is reproduced by mere memory with other sound aspects of a word. In Greek the law of three syllables of course played havoc with what was left of a significant accent after allowing for the ever present effect of analogy or associative changes. Postgate's application of this doctrine to *-ιον* shows a considerable measure of self-deception. He declares (p. 18) that words in accented *-ιον* denote some special appurtenance or special form of the primitive, as though this were not an exact description of what any substantivised denominative adjective must mean. As though *ιστίον* 'an appurtenance to the mast, sail' were any different from *ισθμιον* 'an appurtenance to the neck, necklace,' or as though both did not show the same suffixal meaning as the adjective *ποιμένιος* 'belonging to the herdsman.' The maximum of confusion the doctrine of significant accents has caused on p. 32, where *\*πατρο-κτονός* is said to be 'father-slaying' with emphasis on the action, whereas *\*πατρο-κτόνος* 'father-slain' is reported as emphasizing father, even though the accent is on the verbal root in the last case and on the agent suffix in the first.

All in all, then, Professor Postgate's attack on Wheeler's Law is so full of flaws that it must be considered completely unsuccessful, and the law remains a more convincing explanation of many accentual facts than the doctrine of the persistence of the significance of the I. E. accent in Greek, or than the more vague formulation of a law of retraction of one mora while refusing to look for more special conditions under which such retraction takes place.

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Codices Lugdunenses Antiquissimi: Le Scriptorium de Lyon, la plus ancienne école calligraphique de France. Par E. A. LOWE. Lyon MCMXXIV. Octavo. Pp. 52; 39 plates.

This is a most valuable publication of the Bibliothèque de Lyon; Dr. Lowe was aided also by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, which may take equal pride in the production. The scholarly and well-written Introduction (translated into French by Mme. H. Joly) dwells on the literary importance of Lyons, and the good fortune which has attended the Lyons Library; it surpasses even Verona and Würzburg, and can show evidence of its activity from the sixth century on. Lowe confines himself here to MSS written before the ninth century, which left an abundant harvest in Lyons, and hints at a subsequent volume, to deal with this. Distinctive annotations in a ninth-century

hand, apparently that of the Lyons scholar Florus, enable various ancient MSS now in other collections to be grouped with 13 uncials and semi-uncials still at Lyons; Lowe adds the Codex Bezae, because it contains a peculiar question mark so far found only in Lyons. He assumes, quite reasonably, that the ancient MSS now in Lyons were probably written there. There are 37 admirable plates (one, of illuminated initials, in colors), and two supplementary facsimiles; the explanatory notes are adequate and illuminating. There are few misprints. I can add from my own study of these MSS: to pl. VII, Lyons 478 (408), that b and v are remarkably confused—brebiter, siui, etc.; in my day, there was an interesting uncial fly-leaf to this MS, with SCMR for sanctorum; to pl. XII, 426 (352): several pages of this MS impressed me as palimpsest, carefully erased; to pl. XIV, 483 (413): add DMN, dominum, ff. 208v, 224v, 252v; to pl. XVIII, 443 (372): add scrm, sanctorum; to pl. XXVI, 607 (523 bis): add pr, populus Romanus, in various cases; to pl. XXVIII, 602 (519): I found six loose leaves in good semi-uncial at the end of this MS, broader than the rest, numbered 35-40, and signed Q X on i. 39v; these were palimpsest, the under writing having been scraped off with a knife; to pl. XXXV, 600 (517): chaotic Merovingian spelling.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

NORTH HATLEY, QUEBEC.

A New Approach to the Text of Pliny's *Letters*. By EDWARD KENNARD RAND. Article III. Reprinted from the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XXXVI, 1925. 16mo. Pp. 41.

Here RAND adds another chapter to the stimulating polemic with Merrill over the value of Aldus' contribution to the text of Pliny. Now he would rest his case till the conclusion of Carlsson's and Stout's investigations of the whole problem of the MS tradition. He has certainly succeeded in his campaign to rehabilitate Aldus as a conscientious and reasonably conservative text critic. Incidentally, this study brings out Catanaeus' genius for ferreting out the original reading, and every page contains enlightening discussion of text problems. One can imagine no better seminar subject than the Text Tradition of Pliny's Letters, in the light of the new material and all these recent studies.

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NORTH HATLEY, QUEBEC.

*Palaeographia Iberica: Fac-Similés de Manuscrits Espagnols et Portugais (IX<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles) avec Notices et Transcriptions* par JOHN M. BURNAM: Fascicle III. Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1925. Folio. Pp. 157-228; twenty plates.

BURNAM's unfortunate death in 1921 was a great blow to Latin and Romance paleography; but the devotion of his Cincinnati friends Prof. R. F. Robinson and Mrs. Louise Taft Semple, and of his publisher Edouard Champion, presents us with this posthumous fascicle, and holds out the possibility of a fourth. Having myself gone over BURNAM's papers, as his literary executor, I can the more applaud Prof. Robinson's success, under great difficulties, in continuing the series. The admirable plates are almost all of late MSS connected with Portugal; many of them are in Portuguese. Facsimiles and press-work are of the same beauty as before; there are unfortunately a good many errors in the transcriptions (e. g., omissions of one or more words in XLIX 20, LIII 1, 26). As frontispiece there is an excellent photograph of BURNAM in his study, with a brief sketch of his career.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

NORTH HATLEY, QUEBEC.

St. Andrews University Publications, XVI, XIX and XX. *Palaeographia Latina*. Parts II (1923, pp. 94, three plates, five shillings), III (1924, pp. 66, fifteen plates, \$1.70), and IV (1925, pp. 85, six plates, \$1.70). Edited by Professor W. M. LINDSAY. Published for St. Andrews University by Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press, London and New York.

These fascicles (see AJP. XLIV 288) keep adding materially to our knowledge of Latin paleography, and are endlessly stimulating and suggestive. The plates are excellent; II has two of the Merovingian az-type, described in the text by Lehmann; III, fifteen of Lorsch MSS; IV, six of Vatican MSS from Mayence. In II and IV, LINDSAY summarizes Tafel's posthumous notes on the Lyons scriptorium, which form a welcome addition to Lowe's work (see below). All three have *Collectanea Varia* of LINDSAY's—items like the use of finit for explicit, methods of deletion, etc., of the utmost value. II contains also Weinberger's exhaustive *Bibliographie der lateinischen Buchschrift* (bis 1050) 1911-1922; III, a detailed study of Lorsch MSS by LINDSAY. This throws light incidentally on medieval intellect-

ual life, and the wanderings of scholars. Traube thought the interesting Pseudo-Galen MS, Pal. Lat. 187, might be from Lorsch; it is partly uncial, partly minuscule (several hands), and ludicrously Merovingian in language. Using LINDSAY's abbreviation criteria, I find my notes tend to confirm this attribution, and would recommend further study of this MS, which shows much Insular influence. From Lorsch, he turns to Farfa, a famous center near Rome; Mgr. Carusi adds brief historical essays, valuable for orientation, on Farfa and on Subiaco, where Farfa influence was strong. IV begins with a thoughtful article by Heraeus, über einige Variantenzeichen (like *ia*, in *alio*); LINDSAY deals with the early Mayence scriptorium; and A. de Boüard contributes a résumé of what Lowe calls the "futile" discussions of the origins of the Caroline hand, as connected with the semi-uncial, which de Boüard considers a misnomer, and merely the minuscule of its day, with a long antecedent history. It must be confessed that the Italian compositors are a little hard on English copy; but we can wink at this, if printing in Italy enables LINDSAY to publish more of this indispensable series.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

NORTH HATLEY, QUEBEC.

Sancti Ambrosii Oratio de Obitu Theodosii. Text, Translation, Introduction and Commentary. A Dissertation etc. by SISTER MARY DOLOROSA MANNIX. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. (= Patristic Studies, Vol. IX.) 1925. Pp. xv, 166.

Professor Deferrari's suggestion of this thesis subject has resulted in a useful little volume. The text is reproduced from the Benedictines, with full readings of seven MSS—whether by actual collation or from photographs, does not appear. SISTER MANNIX is too timid in constituting her text; if she had used the criterion of the rhythmical clausula, to which Ambrose was devoted but which she nowhere mentions, she could have followed the MSS in numerous cases, e. g., *passus est*, p. 51, 21; *occurrent*, 28; *suscitaret*, 52-26, etc. She is interested in his use of rhetorical figures, and studies the sources for the stories about Theodosius' penance. There is an extensive bibliography and a good index. Translation and commentary, like text, would have gained if the authoress had ventured forth more independently, for she has read widely. We hope she will continue her researches.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

NORTH HATLEY, QUEBEC.

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